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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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No Lend-Lease Debts

President Truman's announcement that the United States will seek no monetary payment for Lend-Lease deficits on the books is highly creditable, not to his spirit of generosity but to his intelligence. In the first place, Lend-Lease was an international agreement by which it was acknowledged that since all concerned had an equal stake in turning back the aggressors, each should contribute the most of what would best help in the effort. Much of what was being contributed by Britain and other active participants could never be measured in dollars. In the second place, every intelligent person had been convinced that huge war debts either cannot or will not be repaid, and are a source of endless trouble. The United States resolved to have nothing more to do with them long before Lend-Lease was thought of, by adopting the cash-and-carry provisions of the neutrality legislation. Lend-Lease was substituted when it became obvious that the effort to pay cash was hampering Britain's power to resist Hitler. If now we demanded repayment in money, we should be right back where we were at the end of the former war—with war debts even less capable of being repaid.

But We Do Want Something

Secretary Byrnes's footnote to the Lend-Lease statement by the President indicated, however, that while we do not want repayment in money, we do expect recompense of another sort. The master Lend-Lease agreement itself, in Article VII, made this clear, for it bound Britain and the United States to coöperate for future expansion of world trade, removal of trade barriers, and full employment. There is no question that both parties want this coöperation; in theory it is not one-sided payment of a debt. There seems to be a danger, however, that our government is so interpreting it. The British and our authorities have different ideas about how to coöperate to achieve the ends in view, and Washington seems to be exerting all the pressure of which it is capable to force the British to accept our view in preference to their own. We insist that they reduce and fund the debts to other countries constituted by the blocked sterling balances, end control and rationing of exchange, and abolish Imperial Preference tariffs. They would gladly consider doing all these things if they were sure they could do so and still have enough dollar exchange now and in the future, but we have failed for our part to offer what they believe is a credible assurance.

The Danger of a Quarrel

In view of this situation, the sudden and unilateral termination of Lend-Lease by the President assumes an ugly aspect. For many other purposes of equal importance—such as continuation of Selective Service and other wartime controls—the President does not regard the war as having ended. The inescapable inference is that he now has proclaimed Lend-Lease at an end in order to put the British in a hole, so that they must urgently look for ways to continue their necessary imports before they are ready to buy them with exports. The only possible way is to obtain the means from us, and we are put in the advantageous position of attaching conditions to any help we give. This kind of pres-

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sure is bitterly resented, technically fair though it may be. The President should be warned that if he hopes to force upon the British a bargain which they believe cannot work, or one which interferes with their future freedom to protect their economy against disaster, he will have won a victory at far too dear a cost. It would lay up trouble for many years to come. The necessity still remains to discover what both nations must do in order to assure to each the greatest chance to maintain prosperity and so to stabilize and benefit the economy of the world.

Congress Comes Back

The recess of Congress should never have been taken; and now that it is over, the utmost speed is needed to deal with the grave internal problems brought about or augmented by the end of the Japanese war. Helen Fuller, in this issue of the *New Republic*, gives a list of the urgent bills, and shows why the greatest possible pressure must be exerted if Congress is to measure up in any degree to the necessities of the moment. The thing to remember is that a large proportion of the Republicans, and their allies in big business, actually want a depression "reasonable" in size and extent. The businessmen want it because they think it will give them a chance to cut wages and break unions; the politicians want it because they feel that if the blame can be put on the Democrats, their election chances in 1946 and 1948 will be better.

Too Soon for Elections in Japan

Reports from Japan that the Japanese government has decided to hold democratic elections next January should be taken with at least a teaspoonful of salt. Although the Japanese are, as we have learned in the past, masters of adaptation and improvisation, democracy, unlike modern industrialism, cannot be created out of a vacuum. After many years of autocratic rule, not even the Japanese people can establish democracy in the short period between surrender and the date set for the elections. Moreover, there has been no sign so far that, except for the Communists, any popular parties exist which could be counted upon to represent a real democratic opposition to the existing imperial system. While it may be true that differences of opinion developed at the time when the issue of surrender was being debated, it should be emphasized that these were differences among the ruling classes and not the result of a popular upsurge against the war. Before elections are held, the conditions for democracy will have to be created, and this requires a fundamental change in Japan's social and economic make-up. As long as power continues to rest with the old ruling classes, these conditions will not and cannot exist. Early elections would have the effect of strengthening rather than weakening Japan's feudal and industrial lords. Elections should, therefore, be postponed by the Allied Military Government until democratic parties have had a chance to organize, outline a program and present it to the people.

Mr. Dunn and the Italian Colonies

Writing in the New York *Times* of September 2, James B. Reston reveals some sensational news about the situation in the State Department. At the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London, a tentative decision must be made about what to do with the former African colonies of Italy—Eritrea, Libya and Italian Somaliland. The obvious and sensible thing to do with these colonies would be, of course, to hand them over to be administered by the United Nations Organization. Mr. Reston charges, however, that a group in the State Department headed by the ultra-conservative James C. Dunn, now Assistant Secretary of State for European, African and Near and Far Eastern Affairs, wants to give these colonies back to Italy, despite the fact that the Italians are very nearly the worst administrators in the world and that their record in Africa is one of abominable cruelty and exploitation. The reason Mr. Reston assigns is that Mr. Dunn and his group in the State Department do not want the Italian colonies turned over to the United Nations Organization, of which Russia is an important member. They say that Russia has created a sphere of influence of her own in Eastern Europe—which is certainly a much too simple statement of a complicated situation. They want the United States and Britain to establish a countervailing sphere of influence of their own, using Italy as "a buffer against communism."

Sabotaging the UNO

Thus, if Mr. Reston is correct, these men in the State Department want to return to the ideas of the early stages of the war, when America was trying to checkmate Russia by setting up a group of conservative, monarchist, Catholic countries in Southern and Southwestern Europe—a scheme which fell of its own weight. Needless to say, if, through fear of Russia, we give the Italian colonies back to Italy, we deny the whole spirit of the United Nations Organization, undo the work of San Francisco and bring very much nearer the danger of a third world war. This whole scheme is so monstrous that in spite of Mr. Reston's reputation for reliability, we are reluctant to believe it. The State Department should repudiate the plan at once; if it does not, Congress should investigate forthwith.

The Full-Employment Bill

As we go to press, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has completed hearings on the Murray-Patman full-employment bill and is preparing to report it to the full body for consideration. Yet the Expenditures Committee, which is considering the bill in the House, has made no move to follow the Senate example. The Administration will have to exert itself

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considerably to force Chairman Manasco, the Alabama reactionary, to allow prompt action on the bill.

Chairman Robert Wagner, of the Senate committee, directed these historic hearings with considerable dramatic effect. Cross-examination of the bill's opponents was sharp enough in most cases to bring out the holes in their arguments. The parade of cabinet members and other key officials clearly illustrated the deep Administration desire for the passage of the measure. Apparently the House committee and a large part of Congress are still not willing to go along. The result will depend on how much more than talk the Truman Administration is prepared to do. Party leaders will have to force action from the Manasco committee and prepare to hold the line against the flood of weakening amendments that will undoubtedly be introduced as soon as the bill is brought up on the floor.

Progress in the Balkans

The recent Anglo-American criticism of the political regimes which, under Russian auspices, have come to power in the Balkans, seems to have had the desired effect. The trend toward leftist totalitarianism appears to have been definitely checked. Bulgaria has not only postponed the national elections which were to be held under an undemocratic electoral law, but the present government is reported to be considering resignation to make possible a new and more broadly representative cabinet. The Rumanian king has asked the Big Three to supervise the forthcoming elections. Although local balloting will soon be held in Budapest, national elections have been postponed in Hungary to ensure the freedom of vote. Opposition has also developed in Yugoslavia to the dictatorial tendencies of the Tito regime. All of these events are welcome. The Left is strong enough today in every Balkan country to permit the expression of legitimate disagreements on policy within the now existing popular regimes. Moreover, the new trend also indicates that Russia is not necessarily interested in recreating the political life of the Balkans in her own image.

Surplus Property

The House Committee on Expenditures met the other day to hear W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the Surplus Property Board, explain why the present board should be replaced by a single administrator, presumably himself. The committee was charmed by Mr. Symington, unanimously voted his request, in which he had been joined by the other two board members and the President, and in the process revealed their almost complete ignorance of what is in the present Surplus Property Act which they passed last year. The Representatives on this committee will need considerable education on the surplus-property problem before they can revise the Act intelligently as the President has asked them to do.

Symington made several alarmist comments on the "limiting provisions" of the social and economic objectives written into the Act, and let listeners assume that he would not oppose wiping out the present purchase priorities provided for veterans, small businesses, schools and other such groups or agencies. The SPB is laboring under an increasingly staggering load. The War Department alone is referring goods to a single disposing agency at the rate of $100 million per day. But in revising the Act, Congress must be made to remember that speed is not the only, or the most important, objective in our disposal policy.

Job Insurance

The "Unholy Alliance" of Republicans and Southern Democrats is back in operation again for the purpose of defeating any adequate program of unemployment compensation. "Muley" Doughton of North Carolina is using his position as chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee as a base of attack against the Administration's plan. Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg has proposed a "compromise" to the Finance Committee which seems to be the official line of the "Alliance." He would discard any federal underwriting of a $25 maximum for all workers now covered under the various state systems and instead proposes merely lengthening, by federal subsidy, the number of weeks during which benefits would be paid. This kind of "compromise" would be a complete defeat of the basic purpose of President Truman's proposal. Finance Committee chairman Walter George of Georgia, who had already said he approved the Kilgore unemployment bill "in principle," now says he regards the duration of benefits as more important than the amount paid. The State Unemployment executives, bitterest enemies of the Administration's compensation plan, are also warming up to Vandenberg's proposal.

Lockout in St. Louis

The day following President Truman's no-strike-and-no-lockouts-during-reconversion plea, St. Louis became newspaperless. The liberal *Post-Dispatch* and *Star-Times* joined with the reactionary *Globe-Democrat* in locking out about 2,500 newspaper workers, following a strike of newspaper carriers in quest of union recognition. For several years, the men who distribute St. Louis' newspapers house-to-house have demanded acknowledgement of their status as employees, and attendant bargaining rights. But the publishers have answered by asserting that the carriers are independent merchants who own their own routes and buy and sell them, sometimes for as much as $25,000. None the less, the NLRB ruled in August, 1944, that the carriers were bona-fide employees of the newspapers and ordered elections to be held for the carriers to select bargaining representatives. Even after the board had certified the AFL Paper Carriers, Local 450, affiliated

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with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, as the carriers' representative, the publishers persisted in their refusal to bargain until the courts had passed on the validity of the board ruling.

Suspended without Pay

A peaceful solution failing, the carriers took a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act, and went on strike on Thursday, August 16, two days after hostilities ended against Japan. Pressmen and flyboys refused to cross their picket lines, but CIO Newspaper Guildsmen and AFL mechanical-union members reported for work as usual. The *Post-Dispatch* and *Star-Times* did not publish. That night, all St. Louis newspaper publishers sent telegrams to most of their loyal employees telling them they had been suspended without pay until publication resumed. The Guild and AFL unions—typographers, stereotypers and photo-engravers—whose members received telegrams branded the publishers' action a "lockout" in violation of law, contracts and common decency. Together, in unprecedented harmony, they formed a united front, demanding full pay for all time lost by the lockout. They served notice that no member of any of the four unions would return to work until all members affected had been guaranteed pay in full.

Reconstruction in Europe

EUROPE's political prospects, as we pointed out in an editorial last week, are better than they have been since fascism engulfed the Continent in the early thirties. The trend to the Left in all European countries is unmistakable. But this trend can be channeled in a democratic and peaceful direction only if the peoples of Europe succeed as quickly as possible in the material reconstruction of their dislocated social and economic life. Our own interest in putting the Continent back on its feet sets the limits of our responsibility for immediate and long-term aid in this task. If we draw the limits too narrowly, reconstruction may be so delayed that the conditions of peace may once more turn into conditions of war.

On the other hand, a prosperous Europe in an interdependent world will contribute to our own prosperity. Just as the sudden cancellation of Lend-Lease was unfortunate from this point of view, President Truman's proposal to write repayment off the books and consider it part of our war cost is a step in the right direction. A Europe in debt cannot easily proceed with one of its first needs—currency stabilization—and in the course of its inability to check the still rising inflationary spiral we may lose a much needed export market for our goods. There can be no doubt that for years to come the flow of loans and the accompanying flow of trade must be principally from West to East. If we consider the world's needs in global rather than in narrow national terms, the effect of this one-way traffic can only be regarded as salutary both for the peoples of Europe and for ourselves.

It is extremely hard for Americans to visualize the tremendous destruction which the war has wreaked on the European continent. The reconversion problem facing our own country is minute by comparison. While the war has shown us the great possibilities and advantages an expansionist economy can have, and while we may profit from this experience by liberating ourselves from the shackles of a restrictive monopoly-capitalist economic system, the peoples of Europe will have to rebuild their industrial and agricultural life from scratch. Wherever one looks in Europe—at industry or transportation, agriculture or currency, sanitation or housing—conditions are primitive compared with our own. And because of the interrelationship of all these factors in modern civilization, the job of reconstruction is so gigantic that even the utmost aid we may give is small in proportion to the task.

We have made a good start by throwing our weight behind the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, whose task of preventing wholesale starvation is only a small beginning. But the most that can be expected from UNRRA will supply only from eight to ten percent of what is required to fill Europe's minimum needs for food and clothing. Ninety percent of these needs will have to be satisfied by the European countries themselves, and unless our aid goes beyond the charity level, it is doubtful whether reconstruction can be accomplished on a scale commensurate with the existing high degree of dislocation. Men without food and homes and heat cannot be expected to work as strenuously as the circumstances demand.

One of the most pressing problems is to halt the inflationary spiral which has made the black market the irrational regulator of Europe's economic life. Not only because it is to a large extent responsible for food shortages, but also because it has had a disastrous effect on morale. Reports from France, for instance, indicate that the fine spirit of human coöperation developed in the resistance movement is giving way to a new wave of unbridled selfishness. Frenchmen find work meaningless when their meager earnings are swallowed up by the black market, leaving their basic needs unsatisfied. They find it easier to resort to the unproductive operations of the black market, which undermines their self-respect, or to turn to political and economic panaceas. The only means of checking and reversing this trend is to put the financial agreements reached by the United Nations at Bretton Woods into practice as quickly as possible. Any minor step can only be a temporary remedy.

But currency stabilization and stamping out the black market must be implemented by large-scale measures of a productive character. Immediate industrial reconstruction and expansion must be stimulated

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by greater government-spending programs than hitherto known. While the demand for consumer goods may be great, the early reopening of Europe's transportation system is more important. The deterioration or shortage of railroad stock and motor vehicles should furnish a strong incentive to industrial reconstruction. The fulfilment of this demand will not only make the wheels of industry turn, but it is the only way to ensure the equalization and distribution of the food and coal for which the European peoples are crying. Again the success of such a program depends on our ability to reconvert our own economy to the pursuits of peace. The guns, tanks and planes which we shipped to Europe must be followed by an unending stream of the productive machinery, tools and agricultural implements which Europe so badly needs to reconstruct its economy. The responsibility for doing this job belongs to the American people as much in peace as it did in war.

Pearl Harbor and After

THE CONTROVERSY over Pearl Harbor has been chiefly concerned with finding a scapegoat. The obvious course of blaming Admiral Kimmel and General Short was countered by their demand for a chance to vindicate themselves by a revelation of all the facts. Opponents of the Administration took up their cause by charging that the real responsibility rested on higher-ups in Washington. Bitter enemies of President Roosevelt invented the usual crop of rumors in order to place sole responsibility on him. Isolationists have argued that the United States was the real aggressor and that the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was a mere incident. In the background, partisans of the Army and the Navy have tried to shift the blame from one to the other. In short, every participant in the controversy has used it to further his special bias.

Final publication of all the official documents—excluding only those which would reveal sources of confidential information—places the issue in a larger light. Various individuals were guilty of errors of judgment or omissions of desirable action, not the least of these being responsible commanders on the spot. After careful perusal of the documents, we are content with the judgment of the War and Navy Departments, that while these commanders evinced weakness which should debar them from positions of high responsibility, they were not culpable enough to be court-martialed. Ultimate responsibility must be shared by Admiral Stark, if not by General Marshall, by the War and Navy Departments themselves, and by Congress and the people of the United States, who so delayed preparations for war that our forces in the Pacific were inferior to the Japanese when the inevitable break occurred.

The reports, voluminous though they are, constitute in the end merely a small part of the evidence on which must be based the military policy of the United States in the future. What must we do to prevent another and perhaps more disastrous surprise attack in view of the atomic bomb, rockets and the development of electronics? Should the Army and Navy be merged? How many men do we need in the armed services and how should they be enlisted? What about universal military service? What changes in strategy and tactics may be anticipated? These questions are all interdependent and demand global consideration.

Let us examine a few of the more significant revelations in the official reports, not in an attempt to fix individual responsibility, but to discover what they imply for future policy.

First of all, it is necessary to survey the broad background of the event. Our diplomatic officials were fully aware that the course being pursued would probably lead to a break with Japan, and this information was shared with the Army and Navy and transmitted to the officers in the field. Warnings were given to the commanding general officers for nearly a year in advance. When the crisis approached, our government knew at least a week ahead of time that the end was at hand and that the Japanese would probably respond with warlike action. Admiral Kimmel and General Short were apprised of this fact. It was known that the Japanese had prearranged a signal in their short-wave broadcast telling their diplomatic and consular officials to destroy secret codes, and the giving of this signal was monitored and reported in Washington. In terms of larger strategy, therefore, the Pearl Harbor attack was in no sense a surprise.

Strangely enough, almost all of those concerned expected the main assault to be delivered in the Southern and Western Pacific, and the commanders in Pearl Harbor were prepared against nothing except sabotage. It was, of course, known that Japan was likely to strike without official warning and that Pearl Harbor was a

Carmack, in the Christian Science Monitor

Horn of Too Much

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possible objective. There were plain indications as zero hour approached that it would actually be an objective, indications which our authorities did not properly interpret and put together. Admiral Kimmel's intelligence officer, whose duty it was to follow the movements of Japanese warships, told him that he had lost track of two carrier divisions, which obviously were keeping radio silence. Some time previously, reliable reports had come to American intelligence that the Japanese were interested in the dispositions at Pearl Harbor, including the actual berths of the several ships. Admiral Kimmel had found and sunk a midget Japanese submarine in Hawaiian waters. Early on the morning of the attack, the approaching Japanese planes were actually seen on a radar screen and reported to the information center of aircraft warning. The officer in charge was undergoing training and there was no way of identifying the nationality of the planes without checking on the locality of American planes in the air. Nobody bothered to do this.

There were not enough American planes of the right sort at Pearl Harbor steadily to maintain long-distance reconnaissance which could have detected carriers before their planes were launched, no matter from what direction they might come. There were, however, enough naval planes of the kind required to keep up a long-distance search for several weeks in the most dangerous directions—from one of which the Japanese actually came. We have this on the authority of Admiral King. Admiral Kimmel, however, decided not to use the planes for this purpose so that the fleet might be kept in greater readiness for action at sea. This would have been good judgment if the expectation had been correct that Japanese would not attack Pearl Harbor. Strangely enough, General Short, who had arranged with the Admiral in great detail what precautions were to be taken, did not know of this decision and thought the reconnaissance was being maintained.

On the morning of the attack, Army and Navy headquarters in Washington were informed that Japan would deliver an ultimatum at 1 p. m. Washington time, which coincided with dawn at Pearl Harbor. It was inferred by at least some officials that this presaged a dawn attack and a message was sent to General Short apprising him of these facts. Instead of being telephoned, however, it was sent by commercial radio in code and did not reach General Short until after the attack was over.

Had the possibility of attack at about the time it happened been taken seriously, it might not have been prevented, but its damage might have been greatly moderated. Some of the ships in the base would have been sent to sea and those remaining would have been more fully alerted. Planes would have been either in the air or ready to take the air at a moment's notice. The Army planes bunched on the field would have been dispersed and camouflaged.

One incident indicates that our armed forces were not only insufficiently prepared for a surprise attack, but were not alive to the danger of new weapons. According to the experience of our Navy, torpedoes dropped from planes could not be used in waters as shallow as those of Pearl Harbor and at such close quarters. Information had come from the British that great advances in this technique of attack had been made, but apparently this information was disregarded. As a consequence, Admiral Kimmel did not install torpedo baffles about his ships. Yet the greater part of the damage was inflicted by Japanese torpedo planes.

The military conclusions from these events are fairly obvious. One is that research into new weapons and tactics, which shall not be behind possible enemies, but ahead of them, is of first importance. Another is that we cannot rely on military traditionalism to be ready for the kind of surprise which was always important in war and becomes of transcendent importance with the invention of super-deadly weapons. A third is that the principle of unity of command should be applied from the bottom to the top of our armed forces. Finally, there must be far closer links between our diplomatic and political leaders and those whom we entrust with dealing with the consequences of foreign policies if the use of arms should become necessary.

The end of the war has seen the establishment of revolutionary changes, both in the political and military realm. We cannot allow the military establishment to go its accustomed way as if nothing had happened. What are the implications of our membership in the Security Council of the United Nations? How much can we depend upon its policies and what do we need for national defense aside from any action it may take? What sort of military establishment must we have? These questions ought to be thought through from the beginning by untrammeled and discerning minds. We need a national commission heavily weighted with civilians, and of the highest capacity, to revise the military policy of the United States.

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A Journal of Opinion

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Truman Faces Congress

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S political future may hang on what Congress does in the next hundred days. The issues now before that body touch the lives and pocketbooks of every American family, and the way they are decided will largely determine whether or not there will be jobs enough to go around for the next few years. Both Democrats and Republicans agree that jobs will be the issue in 1946 and 1948.

President Truman has presented to Congress a legislative program which, if enacted, will provide a good start toward full production and full employment. The two big questions now are: What will Congress do about Truman's program? And how hard will Truman himself fight for it?

At the last session of the Senate before its recess, Majority Leader Barkley reminded his colleagues of the long list of "human-reconversion" matters they had left unsettled. The provisions of the Baruch Report of 1944 relating to aid for business had been adopted, but job insurance, wages, taxes and welfare problems of the individual citizen were still crying for attention, Barkley said. But he did not dare insist that Congress give up its holiday to attend to them then. A number of the questions had been repeatedly raised by President Roosevelt, and repeatedly rejected. The end of the war forced President Truman to try again to force Congress' hand and he is now committed to fight for action on the following:

Increased unemployment compensation; the Murray-Patman full-employment bill; a remodeled surplus-property law; government reorganization; an increase in the minimum hourly wage-rate; tax revision; extension of social security, including health insurance; a national housing program; military training; and veterans' protection.

The President has asked his congressional lieutenants to push forward immediately with the first four items, in the general order named. The administration bills covering them are at the mercy of the standing committees and chairmen authorized to handle them. The Kilgore unemployment bill falls to Walter George (Ga.) and the Finance Committee in the Senate, "Muley Bob" Doughton (N. C.) and the Ways and Means Committee in the House. The full-employment bill is in the hands of Senator Wagner's (N. Y.) Banking and Currency Committee and Representative Manasco's (Ala.) Expenditures Committee. Manasco will also handle the surplus-property legislation in the House, with Elbert Thomas (Utah) and the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate.

Some comparison is being made in Washington between Truman's standing with this Congress and Roosevelt's standing with his first Congress in 1933. Never since then has it been so easy for the average citizen to see the urgency of legislative action merely by looking at his own pocketbook. To meet this crisis, Truman has four fewer Democrats in the Senate and 73 fewer Democrats in the House than Roosevelt had when he started to fight for his New Deal program. Truman gets along with Congress better than Roosevelt did in his last years, but Truman also inherits a staff of party leaders who are old and tired, and he has nothing to compare with the old Jim Farley patronage system to keep House and Senate members in line. In the absence of such inducements, the committee system and seniority rule have become even harder for the Administration to manipulate. With twelve more years of experience, however, special-interest pressure groups find it increasingly easier to shape the system to their own ends.

For all his personal popularity with Congress, Truman will have few votes to spare in his coming legislative campaign. The die-hard wing of the party must be reëducated to party regularity, and it is hard to believe that they will take such bitter pills as unemployment compensation and full-employment legislation with good grace just because Harry Truman is administering the dose instead of Franklin Roosevelt.

Here are a few of the factors involved in the fight to turn this program into law.

The Senate has a more liberal attitude toward "human-reconversion" questions than the House. On the four top items progressives have demanded from the Administration, the Senate committees concerned are expected to act more swiftly and more satisfactorily than those of the lower house. But the committee and the seniority system which gives committee chairmen such great influence will be the principal obstacle there as in the House. With few exceptions, the chairmen and the ranking members of the key committees are old and reactionary, and a disproportionate number of them come from the rural areas of the South where there is little interest in the reconversion problems of industrial labor. The eleven men who chair the key committees are the "kingpins of the Senate." They decide when committee meetings are to be held, when a bill is to be called up, and they direct the debate when a measure reaches the floor. This powerful Senate eleven has an average age of 69. The youngest (Elbert Thomas of Utah) is 62, the oldest (Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee), 76. Only three chairmen can be considered to be in step with the times—Thomas, Wagner and Murray. Walter George and Kenneth McKellar, leading New Deal saboteurs, still have to show that they love Truman's new program as much as they seem

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to love their old crony personally. George still has the say-so on social-security and tax matters. McKellar still runs the Appropriations Committee with a tight purse-string, regardless of what the Senate as a whole may approve in principle.

On the House side, country lawyers seem to hold the key to the Truman program for full employment and reconversion. Nine of the twelve key committees are headed by lawyers, seven of whom come from predominantly agricultural districts. The eight House committees that will handle the majority of the reconversion bills are all headed by farm-district representatives whose constituents are least concerned about the urgency of industrial-reconversion questions.

As a group, the key committee chairmen Truman has inherited in the House average 68 years of age. All but one of them have been in the House since the beginning of the New Deal, and most of them are tired and not overly enthusiastic about the kind of program President Truman has recalled them from their vacations to put through for the Administration. In the past, the Administration has never been certain of support from more than four of the twelve: Bloom of New York (Foreign Affairs), Norton of New Jersey (Labor), Sabath of Illinois (Rules), and Spence of North Carolina (Banking and Currency).

The top priority items on the President's program go to two of the most stubborn reactionaries, Doughton and Manasco. Doughton reluctantly introduced the President's $25-per-week-unemployment-compensation proposal "by request" at the end of the last session and clearly plans to block consideration of it by his Ways and Means Committee as long as possible. When he can pigeonhole this emergency bill no longer, he will try sabotage by amendment, his colleagues predict. The tax program and the extension of social security are also the province of Doughton's committee and can therefore be expected to encounter dangerous delay. Manasco's Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments is assigned the full-employment bill and surplus-property revision. Manasco has pushed the full-employment bill aside with the casual charge that it is "vague and meaningless" and has begun hearings designed to reopen the whole surplus-property question at this late date. Such a delay will be disastrous to any sound disposal program. Manasco clearly means to renew the fight for the monopoly-big business Colmer-Clayton bill which was rejected in the last session.

The brighter prospect President Truman faces in the Senate with regard to his reconversion program is due in some respects to the vigor and logic of the line of argument he has adopted in his personal talks with the Senate leaders. He talks to his former colleagues in terms of the political urgency of the economic proposals he has laid before them. A sophisticated man like Walter George understands Truman when he points out that the Democrats can stay in power only if there are jobs in sufficient quantity in '46 and '48 and that if the Democrats lose power, the Walter Georges lose their seniority in committees and their usefulness to the groups who contribute to their campaign funds. But "Muley Bob" finds it more difficult to follow this kind of persuasion. Senator George has let it be known that he does not plan to oppose some kind of unemployment-compensation bill this session, although last year his Special Postwar Committee issued a report on this subject which was a carbon copy of the NAM "states'-rights" position against any federal action regardless of the admitted fact that benefits in individual states were "insufficient." Those who know George say that another factor in his reversal is his fear of any comparison being made between what has been done for business under his direction and what has not been done for labor. The same kind of sensitivity on George's part may prevent a bloody fight between him and Secretary of the Treasury Vinson when the new tax bill comes before the Finance Committee.

The Republican leadership is as aware of the part the job issue will play in the '46 and '48 campaigns as is Mr. Truman, and for that reason many Capitol Hill experts expect the Republicans and their friends among the Southern Democrats to do all they can to sabotage the full-employment bill in committee and by amendment and then try to make a record by voting for it. No such concurrence can be expected from them or from the George element on the much tougher issue of passing the measures necessary to implement the plan laid down in the Murray-Patman bill. Republicans generally assume that their chances of coming to power in '46 depend on unemployment at election time with no real measure of improvement in sight, plus friction between veterans and labor, and friction caused by the retention of a good-sized army

No one doubts that Robert A. Taft of Ohio will continue to lead the unrealistic Republicans who scorn so practical an approach. He is set to lead the fight against the minimum-wage raise to 65 cents per hour, sure to be the hardest-fought provision in the Truman program. The pressure groups of the Right which take their soundings from the Taftites are doing their best to convince a majority of Congress that it is perfectly safe to follow Taft's lead. The very tough time the Administration faces in passing adequate unemployment-compensation legislation is in large part the result of the longtime efforts made to build pressure against it.

Big business has been at work undermining the foundations of the unemployment-compensation system ever since 1933. In that year progressive Wisconsin passed a state unemployment-insurance law, and an automobile salesman named Robert Leach, frozen out by the depression, went into a new business called Unemployment Benefit Advisors to help members of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association devise ways of getting around the new law. As the unemployment-insurance idea spread over the country, energetic Bob

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Leach worked at making friends with the State Employment Security Commissioners by finding ways to help them out technically. Soon he was a regular figure at their official interstate conferences. Leach's UBA opened Washington offices and constituted itself the national watchdog on unemployment matters. Most of the State Unemployment top jobs are political appointments. A majority of them in recent years have been held by employer-minded men. Leach has been a perfect front for them in Washington. He has done fact-finding and "legislative research" as to which congressmen most needed attention to keep them in the states'-rights line. The State Employment Administrators, with whom he is in frequent touch by telephone, are free then to go to work on their own backsliders.

Leach's work for his business clients is made practically a sinecure by his soul-mates among the intellectual leaders in the employment-security field. Paul Raushenbush, director of the Wisconsin unemployment-compensation system, and his wife, the former Elizabeth Brandeis, have been of invaluable assistance to the employer cause by their sincere belief in the evils of federalization. Because he had Raushenbush's support, Governor O'Daniel's State Commissioner, Claude Williams, was elected head of the Interstate Employment Conference last year. Williams' resignation from the state job has just been announced. He is to go to Washington as "attorney and legal adviser on social-security legislation" for members of the Texas Trade Association "who have made and are making large contributions to the unemployment-compensation fund." He is to "protect their investment" against any "reckless payments" of unemployment benefits. Presumably Williams will follow Leach's lead in lobbying. "I feel that if it had not been for your activities and leadership," Williams wrote Leach recently, the employers of this nation would not have been able to save the "many hundreds of millions of dollars each year" the so-called experience-rating system has netted them.

The President is up against something like this anti-unemployment-compensation organization on every point in his program for human reconversion. Labor and progressives are still not tightly or efficiently enough organized to make their full weight felt. It is almost too late to form a liberal pressure bloc behind this program of Truman's. The next job is to organize pressure for the measures necessary to carry out the promises contained in these basic bills. The fifteen Senators who spontaneously banded together at the end of the last session to state their own ideas on an action program have already had real influence on President Truman, as his message to Congress reveals. They are the men behind whom progressives should rally and through whom working men and women can tell the Administration what the people want done. We cannot rest secure until this influence, now a minority, becomes the majority leadership of our Congress.

Washington HELEN FULLER

Our Japanese Policy

As American and Allied forces under General MacArthur make good the occupation of the Japanese home islands, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the State, War and Navy Departments have committed the United States to a policy of social evolution in Japan as opposed to Japanese economic revolution. Since the United States is committed to protracted policing of a conquered Japan, this basic premise of a Japanese policy deserves the most intense national scrutiny.

The project for Japanese social evolution within the framework of the Imperial Institution is a debatable development of the pragmatic utilization of the Emperor as a means of bringing a quick end to the bloody fighting in the Pacific. With the effective end of Japanese hostilities through Hirohito's rescript accepting the terms established at Potsdam, inter-departmental argument here over retention of the Emperor to this end has been pretty thoroughly silenced. To the State, War and Navy pragmatists making Far Eastern policy, the clamor surrounding use of the Emperor to halt the Pacific blood-letting was a trifle incomprehensible. They were inclined to concur with the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, in a somewhat similar situation a few years ago, revived an ancient Balkan proverb, that "in times of great peril, my son, you may walk with the Devil until you have crossed the bridge." The State, War and Navy realists will admit for argument that they may have linked arms with the Devil in the person of the descendant of Japan's Sun Goddess. But they will also argue that they apparently are "crossing the bridge."

It may be argued that such reasoning adds up to national cynicism. But the policy-makers here will tell you that, cynical or not, it adds up to realism. At the time of the Potsdam ultimatum to Japan, they had reduced the Pacific war to the alternative of invasion v. surrender ordered by the Emperor. In the view not only of State Department policy men but also of War and Navy Department strategic policy-makers, there could be no protracted argument over such an alternative. When Churchill informed a silent Commons of the blood that certainly would have been let had invasion been necessary, he was merely stating in quantitative terms the first element

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of the alternative which had long been weighed here in Washington.

No doubt the effectiveness of the Emperor in bringing about capitulation of the still dangerous Japanese army will long be used as the principal argument for continuing operations inside Japan within the framework of existing institutions. But with MacArthur establishing himself in the homeland of Japan as the authority transcending the Emperor, the official American policy of social evolution should be subjected to public examination. This policy has not yet been spelled out. But diligent inquiry among officials here makes it clear that it is by this means that the United States now proposes to bring a conquered Japan to the position of stability in which the "peacefully inclined and responsible government" envisaged in the Potsdam terms can become an actuality.

Such a policy will shape the development of Asiatic events for many years to come. And in arriving at this decision, the State, War and Navy policy men deliberately rejected the thesis maintained by many Far Eastern experts and expressed by Mr. Owen Lattimore in the unequivocal prophecy that "the Japanese people are likely to overturn the throne unless we prevent them." Instead, the premise of the occupation is apparently to be a great preoccupation with the achievement of stability so that whatever liberal forces may have been latent in Japan can begin functioning. The danger in such a policy is, of course, that in the search for stability the occupying forces may be forced to turn to the very Zaibatsu group of wealthy industrialists which until August 14 still was willing to go along with the Japanese imperial dreams of world hegemony.

At the risk of being accused of framing an apologia for the State Department policy-makers, it may be said that they can and do advance substantial arguments in support of their programs. They argue that it is a complete fallacy to think of Japan in terms of a people capable of practical democracy who have been trapped by a feudal, fascist system. The force of Japan's feudalism on which her state fascism flourished, they contend, lies in the individual Japanese. Until the basic concepts of the individual Japanese can be transmuted into recognition of the dignity of the individual and the rejection of the overpowering prior rights of a communal state, practical democracy in Japan is not feasible, this group argues.

On this set of assumptions, the argument then is postulated that economic upheavals in Japan in the wake of occupation will have only superficial effects on the national way of life. Until the amorphous mass of Japanese citizens can be indoctrinated with the concept of individual rights in a slow-moving social evolution, Japan will remain dangerous soil, capable of again becoming a menace to world peace. This line of reasoning further argues, however, that there are in Japan forces capable of initiating such an essential social evolution—forces represented mainly by university professors and students, a few businessmen who have traveled sufficiently to be deeply affected by Occidental thought, and to some extent Japanese Christians.

It may be seen, therefore, that in this State Department approach there is no radical program for the chastisement of the great family trusts which prior to the war were said to control more than a quarter of Japanese industry—the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda groups. Moreover, there also is nothing to compel the seizure of the Emperor's tremendous industrial and land holdings which were bestowed upon the throne by industrialists and militarists as they moved toward their objective of world leadership through a compliant Imperial institution.

It is pointed out with emphasis, however, that there is nothing in this approach to handicap General MacArthur in taking the initial political decisions which must of necessity be made by the Allied Supreme Commander once he firmly establishes control in Tokyo. Indeed, it is recognized frankly, if privately, that MacArthur is more than likely to single out some members of the cabinet of Prince Naruhiko Higashi-Kuni whose records clearly make them liable for trial as war criminals.

In the view of the policy-makers in the State, War and Navy Departments, MacArthur's powers to be exercised through the Emperor are sufficiently extensive to enable him to force complete reorganization of any cabinet that may be established. The Higashi-Kuni cabinet, it is contended here, was formed solely with a view to effectiveness in bringing quick and unquestioning army compliance with the Imperial command to halt Japanese hostilities, and has few, if any, long-range political connotations. It will remain for MacArthur to impress upon Japan the hard fact that she was totally and completely defeated, and the General is considered well fitted by temperament to carry through this demonstration.

Until this fact is driven home by MacArthur's administration, there is no inclination here to place any importance upon the synthetic creation in Japan of six "political parties." State Department experts make the point that until constitutional and statutory revisions are made after the fact of occupation, no political party in Japan can have any real meaning. On the other hand, real importance is being placed on the trend of Japanese thought that appeared to be reflected in the editorial of Tokyo's *Asahi* which called upon the Japanese people to "reflect seriously on the grave mistake it made in the past of following government leadership blindly." In its departure from the traditional Japanese concept of complete subservience to state leadership, this atti-

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tude was highly encouraging to the State Department group which is convinced that there are latent forces capable of initiating the social evolutionary processes which might ultimately lead to practical democracy.

There can be little question that no nation in history has ever been less prepared to take over the intricate and difficult tasks of occupation and control of a conquered country than was the United States as General MacArthur was ordered to proceed toward Tokyo. The difficulties of control and administration of Germany are minute by comparison. To some extent, the State Department must assume responsibility for failing to put before the American public in definitive form the fundamental issues of the decisions that had to be made and which of necessity will develop American commitments in the Western Pacific for the next generation. It had, of course, been at work on the problem for well over a year—ever since the appointment by Cordell Hull of an inter-divisional committee to devise over-all policy. The labors of that committee, however, were maintained as a closely held secret, and the public in general became aware of issues only as inklings of State Department disagreements gradually leaked out.

The American public, accordingly, may be forgiven some of its confusion, which became evident when the policy of supporting the Emperor as a means toward halting hostilities emerged fully developed from President Truman's consultations at Potsdam. It might well have aided in the crystallization of national opinion had the department, despite the difficulties of plain talk in wartime, been able to acquaint the public fully with the consequences of refusal to utilize the Emperor as a means toward an end and of the full background of the decisions that had to be made in advance of occupation.

The development of occupation policy now has been placed by Secretary of State Byrnes in the hands of an inter-departmental committee comprised of Assistant Secretary James Clement Dunn, Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy and Assistant Secretary of Navy Artemus Gates. In the light of Mr. Dunn's well known fondness for maintaining order in foreign lands through established and often reactionary forces, the American public may also be excused for some misgivings as to the prospects for development of any clear breakaway from the existing Japanese industrial powers under a program which frankly turns its back on the possibilities of economic revolution.

THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

Washington

Propaganda by the NAM

Economic Philosophy of the Big Boys

SOME MONTHS AGO the National Association of Manufacturers sponsored an educational campaign to prove that only private enterprise will be able to bring to America the glories of a free postwar world. "Prosperity," the NAM's advertisements said, "can't be made through government handouts which only increase public debt and raise taxes still further." The promise of greater economic expansion can be fulfilled if ". . . tax policies leave enough for postwar expansion . . . laws prevent unregulated monopoly . . . labor policies establish the responsibilities of both labor and management and . . . business be conducted under law rather than by unpredictable directive."

Some industrial leaders may reject the sledge-hammer subtlety of the NAM, yet the educational drive, which was directed by the National Industrial Information Committee, was given at least moral support by such leading industrialists as Alfred Sloan of General Motors and James H. McGraw Jr. Mr. Sloan remarked in a circular letter "that the need for a program such as the NIIC sponsors is great and our national picture gives added significance to the job we are trying to do."

The NAM philosophy is well documented in the publications of its affiliated research organization, the National Industrial Conference Board. Here their attitudes are exhibited in full panoply. The NICB's numerous monographs are well known for their exclusive emphasis on management's viewpoint. Among its many publications is a curious quarterly called *American Affairs: The Economic Record*. It is edited by Garet Garrett, whose spiritual sustenance seems derived from the writings of Edgar Queeny, Friedrich A. Hayek and Ludwig von Mises. Each issue of the magazine, however, is sure to have some really liberal comment. A religious sermon advocating the organization of workers offsets criticism of unionism by Henry C. Simons. Other issues reprint excerpts from talks by Marriner Eccles and Mordecai Ezekiel. Yet the latter in no way offsets the *Record's* strident tone of economic bourbonism.

According to Mr. Garrett, modern economic theory is a gigantic fraud perpetrated by English noblemen, Harvard professors and psychopathic bureaucrats. These theorists, he says, have foisted upon the Western world a new gospel of totalitarianism, consisting of vague abstractions and economic myths. There is the

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purchasing-power myth, which gives income priority over production. Before the advent of modern statism, he continues, it was supposed that those whose standard of living was "shamefully inadequate were generally underproductive." Garrett overlooks the elementary fact that uneven income distribution inevitably clogs the productive machine. And the likelihood that poverty may intensify the underproductivity of the poor is never admitted.

Government efforts to raise national income are ventures in charity, the expansionist economy is pure anathema and compensatory budgets are fantastic fourth-dimensional horrors. The other myths, doubtless original discoveries of the *Economic Record's* heroic explorations in Victorian political economy, are Lend-Lease, which compelled us to support a lazy and selfish world, and Social Security, unquestionably a direct violation of the best principles of risk insurance.

These editorial comments are frequently amplified by Mr. Virgil Jordan, the Conference Board's president. During the last ten years of delusion and demoralization, the greatest "common multiple of the limitless greed for power among men" was to be found in Washington, says he. So long as employment, income and consumption are elevated to the status of basic values, so long will the New Deal make political capital; the worst enemy of the people, Jordan warns, is the government. Malcolm McDermott, professor of Law at Duke University, assents to these gloomy views with an article in the July, 1944, number in which he sees a "deadly parallel between the national socialism of Germany and what has transpired here." The Supreme Court affair of 1938, for instance, was a deliberate attempt to "supplant our constitutional government with the German brand of National Socialism."

Whatever Garrett and Jordan may say, the major postwar problem is full employment. The memory of the thirties remains fresh and methods for giving useful jobs to all while preserving fundamental liberties are being carefully discussed by those who fear that our civilization will founder in another depression. Yet the *Economic Record* prefers to identify full employment with dictatorship. In one article Mr. J. F. Lincoln remarks that capitalism with its occasional unemployment is better than feudalism with its full employment. "Do we want full employment?" he asks. Such comparisons are historically factitious. When the rate of unemployment reaches 25 percent, as it did in the early thirties, it cannot be characterized as occasional. When Hoovervilles and poverty are common experiences, we may justifiably inquire into the industrial stewardship of businessmen. But the *Record* insists that managing the economy is solely a private responsibility and the devil take the hindmost.

The Beveridge proposals in England would be forcefully rejected by the NICB, for they imply planning—and that is the deadliest sin of all. But as Mordecai Ezekiel tells them in their January, 1945, issue, planning of industrial activity in our complex society is inevitable. The central question in this vehement dispute, he shows, is control rather than planning itself. If the economic order is run by private enterprise, special interests are bound to dominate. If responsibility for economic operations rests with democratically chosen government agencies, public welfare will prevail. The Conference Board boys are no fools; they understand this very well, and they are quite anxious to have their own bureaucracy in the driver's seat.

Mr. Garrett's discussion of reconversion immeasurably strengthens that impression. He displays a painful nostalgia for the kind of transition that took place after the last war: "In all the literature of reconversion the idea that the task of restoring the economy to the peacetime rhythm should be left to the ways and means of free enterprise with no intervention of government is nonexistent." "Reconversion before," Garrett pleasantly recalls, "was a business of getting back to something we knew." He admires the absence of control then and the way in which the War Industries Board quietly went out of business after the Armistice. Yet he says nothing of the wild inflation and the postwar depression and the frantic speculation. He says nothing of the final cataclysm of 1929.

The *Economic Record's* longing for the good old days of unadulterated individualism is also shown by its comments on such questions as international trade and monetary stabilization. The Bretton Woods plan should be unqualifiedly rejected, it urges, because it will result in world inflation. Other countries will borrow heavily from the Fund and the burden will fall solely on the United States. The revival of world trade on terms other than laissez-faire, adds Virgil Jordan, will mean nothing less than a planetary boondoggle. There seems to be no understanding in the *Record* that a demand for dollars is a demand for American goods, that trade difficulties may be overcome either by coöperation or bilateralism, that international trade functions smoothly only in a two-way street.

In this discussion the *Record's* sophistical economics succeeds in swallowing its own tail. At one point Mr. Garrett remarks that world trade could have been maintained during the catastrophic thirties if the European nations had but continued to pay interest on their debt. In fact, says he, they might have even borrowed more, and we would have limitlessly expanded our foreign investments. Then Mr. Garrett suddenly forgets himself. The European nations did not want to continue borrowing, but we justifiably demanded immediate repayment and our debtors simply couldn't understand why we refused to take "in place of dollars the equivalent in competitive goods."

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Lend-Lease, too, was a vile New Deal plot, for it has been converting this great creditor nation of ours into a poverty-stricken debtor. Says Mr. Jordan:

> The magnitude of this cosmic and incomprehensible reversal of Uncle Sam's balance sheet . . . cannot yet be fully measured but it must emerge on a very considerable scale when we finally are able to take into account the known and unknown amounts of Lend-Lease and relief—some of which has been transformed into direct liabilities—the mounting amounts of foreign balances here . . . and other items, over which the veil of government secrecy is drawn till V-day.

This passage reflects the *Record's* irrepressible urge to turn small hills into huge Himalayas. There was nothing secret about the wartime state of our balance of payments; anyone could easily obtain the data from the publications of the Department of Commerce. The shift to a debtor position is essentially a temporary one. Total war forced commodity exports down while increasing imports; purchases of services for the armed forces abroad were especially heavy. Even so staunch a free-enterprise publication as the National City Bank *Economic Letter* does not view the situation with alarm. "The wartime adverse balance in our current payments," it says, "in all likelihood will prove transitory." It adds too that ". . . foreign countries will want American goods after the war and are almost certain to use some of their $6 billion of short-term funds to get what they want. . . . Foreign assets here will be of immense aid in the transition and reconstruction period."

The *Economic Record's* attitude on labor questions truly exposes its atavistic economic philosophy. Henry Simons, to whom "natural rights" are holier than human rights, cannot "conceive of any tolerable or enduring order in which there exists widespread organization of labor." Only unscientific sentimentalists, he says, will visualize the problem in terms of workers who earn little and entrepreneurs who earn much. "Maximizing labor income and minimizing inequality" can be achieved by constructing elegant mathematical equations in accordance with the time-honored precepts of laissez-faire; only the textbook formula will enforce competition within labor unions. And labor monopolies are so much more dangerous to the body politic than industrial monopolies; they continually force wages above their natural level.

A competitive society need not tolerate unionism, Simons tells us, for venturesome capital must always offer good wages if it wishes to attract new workers. A wage is economically excessive if there are more workers available than are employed. The logical corollary, of course, is to reduce wages until everyone is employed. But this bleeding process does not assure the restoration of economic activity; it leads rather to dull stagnation and apple-vending. Professor Simons, however, is too much the scientist to be disturbed by bread lines and sentimentality. "Whether the wage permits an adequate family scale of living according to social-service workers is simply irrelevant," says he.

Virgil Jordan, J. W. Scoville, economist for the General Motors Corporation, and a William E. Russell add to this diatribe with ominous threats and bitter attacks on collective bargaining and social security. The shades of Pinkerton and Bergoff, labor spies and perfect free enterprise arise once more as Jordan predicts that history ". . will bring its own bitter disappointment, disillusionment and frustration to organized labor as time marches on." Collective bargaining, says Mr. Scoville, crushes economic freedom. It is nothing less than a demoniac scheme to benefit labor-union members at the expense of others.

The Social Security Act, too, violates the basic principles of a well ordered civilization. In the January, 1945, issue of the *Economic Record*, Mr. Russell asserts that social security destroys the God-imposed instincts of fear and thrift which in the past caused

> . . . forty millions of rivulets of savings to flow through savings and commercial banks, building and loan associations, life-insurance companies and other investment channels in the mighty reservoir of capital to which business repairs when it wants funds to expand . . .

There is no realization here that excessive thrift may be as disturbing to economic balance as excessive spending. Nor is there any recognition of the fact that the larger corporations have long had their own vast lakes of capital from which they could draw whenever they became thirsty.

The archaic concept that fear of the future is a driving force in human behavior was thoroughly disposed of by Sir William Beveridge. He shows that such anxiety has been the greatest source of resistance to technological progress and the chief cause of restrictive practices. Eliminate fear, he states, and economic efficiency will be enhanced. "The essence of civilization is that men should come to be led more by hope and ambition and example and less by fear."

The NICB extremists are sure to uncover totalitarianism in every aspect of American life. A new discovery of theirs informs us that the New Deal is now going to control public education by means of grants-in-aid. Mr. McDermott, the Duke University professor, characterized federal grants to the states as the perfect pattern for national socialism in public education. "There is not a state," he argues, "that does not already have a creditable public-school system. There is not a state that is unable to support its system." Yet the grant-in-aid system began long before the advent of the Roosevelt era. Its roots, in fact, may be traced to the Ordinance of 1785; that hardly makes it a New Deal invention.

But what are the facts in educational finance? According to the Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, federal aid for education

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amounted to about two percent of all federal grants. Is our educational plant so perfect when we have more illiterates than college graduates? Are the Southern states able to support their public-school systems adequately with expenditures per pupil in 1939-40 ranging from $40.86 for North Carolina to $30.72 for Mississippi? New York spent $156.86 per pupil during the same period, while California spent $141.93. Yet federal aid for education, according to the NICB, is a subversive attempt to undermine the substance of American civilization.

It is quite apparent that the big boys yearn for the "profit-and-loss system as it was under the doctrine of laissez-faire." To them free enterprise is a bold knight in bright armor who will soon free chaste Business from the New Deal dragon. The Conference Board's credo has been indeed well formulated by Mr. Virgil Jordan when he says:

> It does not matter to me what others may do or say . . . but when some smooth-tongued wizard from Washington . . . puts to me the typical twisted question with which the patriotism and pride of the American people has been slowly poisoned during the past decade, and asks whether I want to bring back the days of Harding and Coolidge and Hoover, of Teapot Dome and Ed Doheny and Albert Fall, and Insull or Musica or Whitney . . . I shall look him straight in the eye without shame or fear and say: "Yes."

BEN B. SELIGMAN

The TVA Rescues the Farmer

Soil erosion is the creeping cancer of American agriculture. Dr. Hugh Bennett, head of the Soil Conservation Bureau, United States Department of Agriculture, is authority for the statement that if we continued to lose the fertility of our soil at the rate of recent decades, vast areas of the United States would be a complete desert in about 100 years and the United States as a whole could then produce food enough for only a small part of our present population.

Soil erosion and flood damage go together; the more rapidly the water runs off denuded hillsides, the greater its tendency to create disastrous floods. Nowhere in the whole country have these twin evils been more serious than in the Tennessee Valley. By nature this is in large part a heavily wooded, mountainous region of excessive rainfall and rapid rivers. It was settled 200 years ago by people of English origin, many of whom, as is well known, still use in their common speech some Elizabethan words that have become archaic everywhere else, and carry on centuries-old traditions in their folk art. To be sure, the once common practice of plowing straight up and down the hillsides, which made for a maximum of erosion, was passing out even before the TVA, and contour plowing was taking its place; but much damage, some almost irreparable, had already been done. Moreover, the farmers rarely used enough mineral fertilizer to compensate for the loss of the valuable elements drawn off by successive crops, and especially by the omnipresent cotton. They hardly ever planted clover, vetch or lespedeza, which carry, on their roots, bacteria with the magic power of capturing nitrogen from the air and putting it into the soil.

The results of this mistreatment long ago began to be apparent. If you have once seen soil erosion at work, you can never forget it. A crack appears in the surface of the earth; it lengthens, deepens and widens, and smaller cracks appear at right angles to it, like a line-drawing of a river and its tributaries. It sinks below the level of the surrounding area, a miniature Grand Canyon, in which nothing grows or can grow except a few weeds, because the surface is hard clay. If such erosion goes far enough, the soil can never be reclaimed except at prohibitive cost.

In the Valley has been accomplished the greatest experiment in water control ever undertaken by man, and, indeed, the only one which in any degree approaches completeness. The 26 dams on the Tennessee Valley and its tributaries, nearly all of them new, now put the entire region beyond the threat of any severe general flood. (Chattanooga still needs an expenditure of $10 or $12 million in local works to make the city proof against even a 500-year flood, a modest sum whose small size is made possible only by TVA water storage.) That ambitious and minuscule builder called Man has so arranged things that, within broad limits, he can dictate the level of the water in all the lakes and rivers of the entire region. The size of his accomplishments may be gauged to some extent when you know that the artificial new lakes created behind the dams have a shore line actually larger than that of the continental United States itself. A man on the moon, with a good telescope, could see these lakes and the shadows cast by the big new dams.

For generations, we have tried to control floods on the Mississippi River by building high banks, called levees, along its lower regions. The argument was partly the simple one that water would thus be kept off adjacent farmland, partly that the high banks would make the river run more rapidly, that the bottom would thus be scoured out and a greater volume of water therefore accommodated. Whatever may be the facts about the Mississippi, this notion is in general contradiction to the best current thought of hydraulic engineers throughout the world today. The present notion is that rainfall should be controlled at the earliest possible moment after it reaches the earth. Dense vegetation

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on the headwaters helps, as suggested, by blotting up moisture and releasing it gradually. A dozen little dams on small tributaries are worth far more than a big one farther down the main stream.

Because the Tennessee and its tributaries have now been captured and, so to speak, run through a pipe with a shut-off valve, floods on the Mississippi will henceforth be less destructive than in the past, other things being equal. By closing the sluice gates at times of heavy rainfall, the flood crest on the Father of Waters can be reduced as much as three feet, depending on the location of the flood-producing storm, all the way from Cairo, Illinois, to the Red River, and lesser amounts to New Orleans and the Gulf. And, of course, controlled water is enormously more useful for navigation and hydroelectric purposes.

The problems of flood control and erosion go far beyond the simple one of rivers which overflow their banks. The TVA has set to work, patiently and thoroughly, on the job of combating misuse of soil throughout the Valley. The farmers are being taught contour plowing, which does a minimum of damage. They are being taught also to plant the nitrogen-fixing crops mentioned above, to restore some of the lost fertility.

But the work among farmers in the Tennessee Valley is much more extensive than the problems of flood and erosion control, important as they are. The TVA and the agricultural extension services of the states in the river basin have set up a test demonstration program to drive home to farmers in the region the value of the latest and best methods, including the best crops to plant, the advantages of using the nitrogen-fixing crops mentioned above, which are the best mineral fertilizers, the desirability of diversified agriculture, and the profits to be derived from a dairy industry employing blooded cattle. Some 30,000 privately operated farms throughout the entire Valley are voluntarily serving as demonstration units. Demonstrators are selected by organizations of their neighbors created for soil conservation; the individual farmer signs a contract that he will do what the experts of the extension service advise, and in return he is given free fertilizer, in the required quantities for use on cover crops, as well as other aid. In the TVA are produced both nitrates and phosphates, and the soil experts are showing the farmers the particular value of the phosphates, in which most soils are deficient. The farmers are encouraged to take their steep slopes out of cultivation and to plant clover and the other nitrogen-fixing crops, a program made possible only by the use of the mineral phosphates.

Within a year, at most, any farm chosen for a demonstration begins to forge ahead of its neighbors in production and taxable value; its sale price may go up as much as 400 or 500 percent. Naturally, the lesson is not lost on the owners of surrounding farms. They combine regret that their farms were not chosen with a lively determination to imitate the methods whose success is so conspicuous. Some phosphates are already available commercially and, of course, many more will be, since the end of the war.

The war has also made it difficult for farmers to obtain machinery, which is such an important aid to modern, scientific agriculture, and with the coming of peace, this situation should be markedly improved. Engineers in the employ of the TVA or the agricultural extension service have worked out a number of devices (which are now being privately manufactured) to help in various phases of farm work, machines sold at a rate low enough for the modest pocketbook of a Tennessee Valley farmer. Herewith a few examples:

A commercial hay-drier costs several thousand dollars, but is a useful implement to have on farms like those in the Tennessee Valley. TVA engineers set to work to develop one which would cost not more than $500, and were successful. All the parts are now procurable from private manufacturers, and the farmer in most cases can install this barn hay-drier by himself. The drier eliminates the need for leaving the hay in the field subject to possible rain which can reduce the value of the crop, or ruin it completely.

Valley farmers were also given the chance to buy an inexpensive machine to spread fertilizer, with an attachment for a plow. The engineers have developed a threshing machine so simple and compact that it can be hitched behind the farmer's automobile and driven rapidly along country roads. All these inventions have been made available to private manufacturers who are making and marketing them.

Sweet potatoes are grown in the Valley, but have been hard to keep, since they spoil readily. The agricultural advisers worked out a heater which will keep the potatoes at an even temperature of around 95 degrees for about three weeks. The starch in the potatoes turns to sugar, and they keep much better.

I mentioned in a previous article the fact that deep-freeze units have been developed by the TVA, to be privately manufactured at a low price, enabling farmers in the Valley to freeze a number of types of foodstuffs and sell them at good prices with minimum loss from spoilage. Strawberries, for example, went up, after the deep-freeze technique was introduced, from 4.2 cents to 11 cents per box.

Electricity in the Valley is sold at such a low rate—less than two cents per kilowatt hour—that nearly all farmers can afford to use it freely in their work. They have been greatly aided in doing so by the Rural Electrification Administration of the federal government, which encourages the creation of coöperatives among the farmers in a given vicinity for the purpose of bringing in electric power. A great deal of backbreaking farm drudgery is now being done by wired magic—pumping water, grinding feed, shelling corn, separating cream, sawing wood. The housewife, likewise, appreciates washing clothes, and even dishes, in this way, using an electric vacuum cleaner, refrigerator, and sewing

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machine, and being freed from the necessity of constantly filling and cleaning oil lamps.

Before the war shut down on the sale of electric household appliances, the TVA negotiated with several big manufacturers of such appliances in regard to getting them on the market at a price the Tennessee Valley farmer could pay. It was found that by leaving off some ornamentation and fancy gadgets not really necessary for proper functioning, substantial savings could be made on price. Presumably, with the end of the war and the return to normal production of these items, this process will again go forward.

Some of the beneficial results of the new scientific agriculture in the Tennessee Valley are reflected in statistics. In one Valley area, for example, cotton production has gone up from 275 pounds per acre to 400. Corn production has increased by 20 to 30 bushels per acre. The number of animals per farm has actually doubled. From 1933 to 1939, the last full year before war work began to play an important role, the value of all Valley production, agricultural, industrial and mineral, went up 50 percent. In a slightly longer period of time, per-capita income increased more than 100 percent. Retail sales increased 50 percent more than the national average.

But these figures of course do not begin to tell the whole story of what has happened in the Valley. Much of the increased production of foodstuffs is consumed by the farmer and his family, and never gets into the statistics of cash income at all. And who is to measure the increase in confidence, security, morale, which comes when you see your land, which was rapidly going down toward being completely unusable, rescued and made better year by year? Nobody will ever write a *Grapes of Wrath* about the Tennessee Valley.

Nothing has been more remarkable in the work of the TVA than the progress it has made in health and the whole art of living. I shall discuss this in my next article.

BRUCE BLIVEN

This is the second of three articles. The third will appear in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

The Tomb of Lieutenant John Learmonth, AIF

> At the end on Crete he took to the hills, and said he'd fight it out with only a revolver. He was a great soldier. – *One of his men in a letter.*

This is not sorrow, this is work: I build
A cairn of words over a silent man,
My friend John Learmonth whom the Germans killed.

There was no word of hero in his plan;
Verse should have been his love and peace his trade,
But history turned him to a partisan.

Far from the battle as his bones are laid
Crete will remember him. Remember well,
Mountains of Crete, the Second Field Brigade!

Say Crete, and there is little more to tell
Of muddle tall as treachery, despair
And black defeat resounding like a bell;

But bring the magnifying focus near
And in contempt of muddle and defeat
The old heroic virtues still appear.

Australian blood where hot and icy meet
(James Hogg and Lermontov were of his kin)
Lie still and fertilize the fields of Crete.

Schoolboy, I watched his ballading begin—
Billy and billocky and billabong,
Our properties of childhood, all were in.

I heard the air though not the undersong,
The fierceness and resolve; but all the same
They're the tradition, and tradition's strong.

Swagman and bushranger die hard, die game,
Die fighting, like that wild colonial boy—
Jack Dowling, says the ballad, was his name.

And so he spun his pistol like a toy,
Turned to the hills like wolf or kangaroo
And faced destruction with a bitter joy.

His freedom gave him nothing else to do
But set his back against his family tree
And fight the better for the fact he knew

He was as good as dead. Because the sea
Was closed and the air dark and the land lost,
"They'll never capture me alive," said he.

That's courage chemically pure, uncrossed
With sacrifice or duty or career,
Which counts and pays in ready coin the cost

Of holding course. Armies are not its sphere
Where all's contrived to achieve its counterfeit;
It swears with discipline, it's volunteer.

I could as hardly make a moral fit
Around it as around a lightning-flash.
There is no moral, that's the point of it,

No moral. But I'm glad of this panache
That sparkles, as from flint, from us and steel,
True to no crown nor presidential sash

Nor flag nor fame. Let others mourn and feel
He died for nothing: nothings have their place.
While thus the kind and civilized conceal

This spring of unsuspected inward grace
And look on death as equals, I am filled
With queer affection for the human race.

CAPTAIN JOHN MANIFOLD

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Washington Notes

Peacetime Miscellany

THE MEDIOCRITY of some of President Truman's closest advisers is beginning to show like the mid-day sun. Take, for example, the startling case of Brigadier-General Harry Vaughan, the President's military aide and constant companion. The other day some church ladies in Alexandria invited the General to make a speech and tell them about Potsdam. The General not only told them about Potsdam but a good deal about the General, most of which was decidedly discouraging.

General Vaughan described Mr. Churchill as just "a garrulous old gentleman," and went on to complain that the British talk too much. Then he gave his views on the taciturn Russians. He is quite convinced, he said, that the Russians already have looted the palace at Potsdam and that the treasures by now are "three-quarters of the way to Moscow." "It is a very good thing," the General said by way of reference to the Roosevelt Administration, "to get back to ham and eggs . . . after a diet of caviar." Then he declared that the best Catholic priests are chaplains, whereas Protestant chaplains were appointed because there was no other work for them or because they wanted "a three-year vacation."

Then take the case of Edwin W. Pauley, the American representative on the Reparations Commission. He has the personal rank of ambassador, and as one of the Hannegan politicians who engineered the nomination of Mr. Truman as Vice President, he is influential at the White House. When in town he occupies Harry Hopkins' old office.

Pauley came back from Moscow and Potsdam the other day with a big story to tell. It was so important that the President at his press conference called the attention of correspondents to it and urged that they attend the Pauley press conference to be held that afternoon. A big crowd showed up. But they didn't get any news, and most of them came away wondering whether Pauley really knew very much about the subject of reparations.

President Truman deserves better advisers. Certainly he is a sincere and honest individual, eager to do a good job. Moreover, he has unusual ability. His circle of acquaintances is limited, and he is extraordinarily loyal to old friends, but it is difficult to explain some of his appointments. I hope that when he makes his first Supreme Court appointment it will be so good that we can forget some of the others.

President Truman's bluntness and honesty have been much commented upon, yet those qualities deserve further mention in connection with his statement on the meaning of the Pearl Harbor reports. In laying the primary blame for the disaster upon the American people, the President laid himself open to violent criticism from the semi-fascist press, the isolationists and the Roosevelt-haters. I thought the statement came from the heart—I know it was impromptu—and I think it is only fair to the memory of President Roosevelt that it should have been made.

One thing in the whole affair that has sickened but not surprised me has been the unctuous air adopted by the trained seals of isolationism on Capitol Hill. They have gone right on mouthing their pieces, laying the blame on the late President and holding themselves up as saints. If there is any more contemptible group of people in this country, I do not know it.

The Russo-Chinese treaty has been a subject for much debate in Washington. It came as a surprise. Here are a few of the unanswered questions: Does it mean that the rug has been pulled from under the Chinese Communists? Or does it mean that Stalin insisted that Chiang Kai-shek coöperate with the Communists and introduce more liberalism into his own regime? Does Russia's failure to claim Manchuria—the richest part of China—mean that Stalin recognizes the Japanese potential for recovery and wants to help build a strong China as a counterweight? How greatly was Russia's decision influenced by a desire to remove causes of suspicion between the United States and Russia in the Pacific? Did Stalin, by rendering tacit support to Chiang, realize that he might be laying the basis for a strong—and possibly fascist-minded—China? What part, if any, did the United States play in working out the agreement between the two nations?

Some of the questions suggest cynical answers. But on the whole the opinion here is that the treaty is highly encouraging. At least it has prevented civil war in China for the present. But has it strengthened Chinese democracy?

The mission of Byron Price, director of the Office of Censorship, now in the process of liquidation, to Germany is significant of a new trend. More and more civilians are going to be called on for help in occupation work. They will not replace the army chiefs, but they will be influential in making policy. Price is going to Germany as a personal representative of the President to try to improve working relations between the American army of occupation and the German public. No decision, according to Secretary Byrnes, has been made regarding the appointment of a civilian adviser to General MacArthur, but there is a strong feeling that there should be civilians on MacArthur's staff.

Notes.—Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton tried to persuade the Administration not to cut off Lend-Lease so abruptly. His advice was ignored. There is good reason to believe that Byrnes was more concerned with the favorable reaction the sudden end of Lend-Lease would provoke in Congress than with the effect it might have economically. . . . The President's request for minimum unemployment benefits of $25 a week for a maximum of 26 weeks is being vigorously opposed by most state unemployment commissions, and they carry more weight with Congress than does the President. . . . One Washington correspondent is confident that the big news story of 1946 will be headlined "Truman Slugs Byrnes on White House Lawn." He say that while the two men are close today, Byrnes will tell the President how to run the government one time too many. . . . Congress now becomes the center of attention, and it is going to be more vocal politically than in a long time.

Washington

T. R. B.

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International Notes

Spanish Republican Deadlock

THE PARLIAMENTARY cat-and-mouse game that accompanied the formation, in Mexico City, of a Spanish Republican government-in-exile under the premiership of José Giral, must have been a source of joy to Dictator Francisco Franco. Did it not prove, the fascists will argue, that the Republicans are unfit and unable to run Spanish affairs? If they cannot achieve a minimum of unity when in opposition, how can they agree when in power? There is in fact an element of truth in these demagogic questions. Political disunity on the Left was the curse of the Loyalist side during the Spanish civil war. Political disunity continued to harm the Republican cause during the many years of exile. And although some progress has been made recently, political disunity is still a greater reality than unity —in spite of all the noble words that have been uttered by all factions during the Mexico City negotiations.

A Republican government-in-exile has now been set up, but even if it should succeed in being recognized by a number of nations, its tenure is precarious. Instead of being the crowning effort of the desire for unity expressed by all, it is, at most, another step in the right direction. It is a government whose every move will be scrutinized by those groups which are not represented and whose tolerance may turn into opposition at the slightest provocation.

The Giral cabinet is a right-wing government of the Left. Its formation represents a serious defeat for Juan Negrín and Alvarez del Vayo, the left-wing Socialists who were perhaps the only exiled politicians who meant unity when they talked it. As long as Negrín did not commit himself, the right-wingers could not succeed. Negrín's primary condition for revitalizing Spanish Republican politics on a governmental level was the inclusion of the Communist Party in any future set-up. He was, and still is, correct in insisting on this condition. Whatever the constitutional rectitude of an exiled government may be, without the Communists it cannot afford to speak in the name of all Spaniards opposed to the Franco regime. But the Communists, as so often, once more overreached themselves. Although Negrín was willing to enter a unity government even if he were not renamed Prime Minister, the Communists refused to enter any combination not headed by him. Willy-nilly they played into the hands of the right-wingers, who were only too glad to go ahead without them.

But why, in any case, did Negrín and his friends remain outside the cabinet? Precisely because they knew that without the Communists the exiled government, whatever its legality, cannot be considered fully representative. Unfortunately for the right-wingers, this may turn out to be their major stumbling-block. They can expect to remain in power only if their government is granted recognition—not by Mexico and other small powers—but by the Big Three. It is doubtful that such recognition will be granted. Only real unity could ensure it. Fortunately both for the left-wingers and, incidentally, for the cause of Spanish democracy, this situation must eventually result in a solution that will bring unity. For if the Giral cabinet is not recognized by all of the Big Three, it will have no other course but to resign. In that case, Negrín will be the natural successor.

It is difficult to fix the blame for the present state of affairs. Underlying it is, of course, the old split between the right-wing Socialists and the Communists, and all the bitterness it engendered after the defeat of 1939. If the right-wingers absolutely refused to have any contact with the Communists, the latter retaliated by heaping abuse on those who disagreed with them. Each party sought to get the jump on the other by setting up semi-official organizations which claimed to speak for the Spanish republic. The Center Parties and right-wing Socialists united in the Junta Española de Liberación in Mexico City. The Communists and those who went along with them organized the Junta Nacional in Toulouse, France. Due largely to Negrín's efforts during the past year, both organizations dissolved as a prerequisite to the formation of a unity government. But the old suspicions and hatreds continue.

The question of power is the crucial issue. It was the issue with the Loyalists during the civil war and it still is today. Political exiles are experts at wishful thinking. All the Spanish parties and factions, apparently including even the strong Catalonian Anarchists and left-wing Socialists, hope for a peaceful return to power. As to how it may be accomplished, they are appropriately vague. Foreign aid, the splitting of the Spanish army or even a deal with monarchist-clerical elements appear as alternatives to force and violence for which only the Communists are theoretically and practically prepared. This—quite apart from their claim of having a well organized and well disciplined underground—makes for Communist strength, feared and resented by all except, perhaps, Negrín's Socialist wing. In this lies Negrín's strength. If a peaceful settlement proves impossible, violence may be the only alternative. But whatever alternative may seem most expedient at the decisive moment, unity between right-wingers and left-wingers is necessary for the achievement of either.

Negrín probably thinks of the third choice which doctrinaire thought cannot grasp. Violence may not be inevitable, but it may be nearly so. Those who reject it actually repudiate the civil war. Do they believe that the civil war was unnecessary? If they do, they overlook and deny its revolutionary implications. Fascism in Spain—in spite of the complicating factor of foreign intervention—was a counter-revolution against the profound revolutionary ferment of the masses. The liberal Republic could not cope with either revolution or counter-revolution. What ground is there for believing that it could now? It would be a miracle if Spanish fascism, with all that it implies—the rule of the landowners, big industrialists, clergy and army—were to relinquish the power it so dearly bought. And even if free elections are held, what would protect the fascists from the wrath of the masses? Could any exiled government guarantee their safety? It could only do so by relying on the professional army. But this reliance was one of the very causes of the weakness of the Republic of 1931. No, if an exiled government is to have a realistic program it must anticipate violence even if it does not want it. Like Largo Caballero in 1936, it can either ride the revolutionary tide or be engulfed by it. E. L. P.

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Renoir on Tenant Farmers

"THE SOUTHERNER"—directed by Jean Renoir—is one of the least trashy and commercial movies made in years. It tells about the first year spent by a very poor Southern tenant family on a farm whose ground hadn't been worked in years, and whose house is the shabbiest of shed-like makeshifts. During this year all five members of the family (father, mother, two children and grandmother) nearly starve and freeze; the son almost dies of pellagra; a rainstorm destroys the first cotton crop; a depressed neighbor wrecks the vegetable garden and twice almost murders the father. But the life of the family through all this is a rewarding one, because of the goodness, courage and integrity of the people, which seems to be what the movie is trying to show. The farmer and his wife (Zachary Scott and Betty Field) are sensitive, strong, persevering people, who are given a more generous number of emotions and more natural ones than are usually given heroes and heroines; the only two Hollywood disfigurements are that the hero sometimes seems too talented—as when he snags fish out of the water with his hands—and the heroine has a little too much beauty-parlor polish.

I have never been in the South, but the movie doesn't strike me as being particularly Southern. There are one or two Negroes as extras in a limp introductory episode; the characters speak a pleasant, mild approximation of Southern speech and look more like New Yorkers than Southerners I know do; and the movie is so divorced, I think, from an identifiable environment that it seems to be taking place in a generalized American farm country. I still think it is often an accurate portrait of American farming people, with a lot in it that is thoroughly good and sweet. It is especially admirable because it gets about freely into believable locales and, in the case of its men, is extremely well cast and acted.

I particularly liked Zachary Scott's performance, and those parts of the movie in which Renoir has visualized the action so well that you seem to be present in the events as an unseen member of the Tucker family. This happens when the family drives up to the house for the first time and then explores the decayed structure (for once, there is a study of a house that is nearly long and detailed enough, and one in which the director does something as unusual as to use his camera as if it were the eyes of the family as they move into the house and around in it), and during occasional indoor scenes when dialogue is so well handled that there is no feeling that the action is being staged in the manner of a play for an audience. I like the unhoked-up, credible love and hope in a celebration around the first lighting of the stove; the humor in a shot taken from some distance away from the house, of the father pushing a caved-in section of the porch roof into place; the radiant prettiness of an intentionally romanticized dream episode; the reality of a scene at the doctor's office. Much of the humanity in the movie is due to the talented, completely believable playing of Scott; his ability to walk, talk and act as though he had never been to a city, to make small reactions—like a glance, over the dinner table, at his wife showing a sudden respect—count heavily, and his ability to make terrifying moments, like his looking toward the sky and asking God a question, seem natural to a humble, unassuming man.

Director Renoir's idea of a beautiful shot is a prettier, more obviously composed one than I care for, and too often the reason for walking an actor under a large tree, posing his head against clear sky, sending him into the forest to hunt possum, or almost drowning him in a flood, seems to be simply to film some scenery that the director likes. But unlike almost any other Hollywood director, Renoir tries to make every shot count for as much as possible, and the fine, naturalistic work he has done here has turned out some of the only true scenes of American country life that I have seen since films like "Tol'able David." The weight of the movie as a whole is much lighter in effect than I think it should be to be important as a work of art about Southern tenant farmers, but the interest of everybody connected with it is in the direction of art.

Besides "The Southerner," the best of the current movies I have seen are: "Story of GI Joe," "Pride of the Marines," and the documentary, "San Pietro." MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

MP's made a routine search of the General [Yamashita] and his staff members for concealed weapons, and found nothing. However, one live grenade and an assortment of knives and razors and scissors were taken from other members of his party.

"It's a heck of a thing to come to a peace conference with," observed the MP who found the grenade. – *From* PM.

Newbold Morris, president of the City Council, denied yesterday that his candidacy for Mayor on the No Deal party ticket was designed to take votes from either Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Republican, Liberal and City Fusion candidate, or William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor party nominee. He declared that his only purpose was "to win the election" and assure a continuance of good government in New York City. – *James A. Hagerty in the New York* Times.

Nunc Dimittis

Directors of the Chicago Board of Trade yesterday voted to discontinue ringing the gong at 11 a. m. daily calling for a minute of silent prayer for victory. The practice, begun in January, 1942, had accomplished its purpose, they said. – *From the Chicago* Tribune.

Now, Now, No Snap Judgments

A slender, 39-year-old waitress nervously told today how she lived in "utter hell" after she learned her sweetheart, a night-club operator, paid $500 to have her killed. . . . "I don't think Bill would have made a good husband," Mrs. Bailey said. – *UP dispatch from Seattle.*

On the Home Front

Mona Maris checked in at three minutes to 4 to make a test for "Heartbeat" on August 14. At 4 o'clock she was left standing. Every electrician, every cameraman, directors, actors—all walked right out of the RKO studio to celebrate peace day. But Mona got the job, so she doesn't mind. – *Louella O. Parsons in her syndicated column.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Free Enterprise or Planning?

SIR: In the United States, alone among the great nations of the world, many people still fervently believe in "free enterprise," which is the name they give to our "system" of carrying on industry, through an unstable combination of competition and monopoly, for the private profit of the owners. They argue, quite correctly, that free enterprise gave to most people a relatively high and rising standard of living at least until the great depression which began under President Hoover in 1929.

But the fundamental reason for our prosperous condition in the past was an economic fact which has ended, namely, the existence of free land in the West. Throughout much of our nation's history anyone who was out of work or low-paid could move a few hundred miles further west and get from the government 160 acres of good farming land free, with the sole proviso that he lived on and developed his farm. This free land in the West was the safety valve for unemployment. Free enterprise depended on free land for its success.

Today the free land in the West is all taken. There is no longer any escape for the unemployed over the covered-wagon trail. The safety valve for the unemployed, who always exist in an unplanned capitalist system, has gotten jammed. That is why our last depression lasted longer and was worse than any we had had before. Unless we use the government to plan and regulate industry for maximum pay, maximum production and maximum security, instead of for maximum profits, we shall have another depression. For free land in our country, the chief economic prop for free enterprise, is a thing of the past.

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Discrimination v. the Right to an Education

SIR: May I congratulate you upon your excellent editorial "Anti-Semitism and Dartmouth." You are perfectly correct in stating that "there is a *numerous clausus* against the Jews in most private institutions of higher learning in New England and presumably in other parts of the country." This, of course, applies to faculty as well as to students.

With respect to the *numerus clausus* against students, the following facts may be of interest to your readers.

Several years ago the recently retired dean of a prominent Eastern medical school informed me that there exists "an unwritten agreement" among the deans of practically every medical school in the United States to limit the number of Jewish students admitted to each school to not more than 15 percent of the total. I am not sure, but I think he added that this was later reduced to 10 percent. More than one dean, to my knowledge, has boasted that he has kept well within this limit. I know of at least one Eastern medical school in which the number of Jewish students does not exceed four percent!

In certain medical schools there is a *numerus clausus* against students of Italian origin. Negroes, of course, are refused admission to most medical schools.

As a teacher in such schools I have again and again witnessed the tragic personal and social consequences of this unjustifiable policy. I have seen brilliant students who from an early age had set their hearts upon the study and practice of medicine or the pursuit of medical research turned down by one medical school after another because "the Jewish quota" had been filled. And I have seen students admitted in their place who were no more qualified for the practice of any aspect of medicine than Mr. Rankin of Mississippi, for example, is for the practice of humanity.

It seems to me that if an applicant for entrance to a medical school possesses the character, aptitude and necessary academic qualifications, he should be judged on the basis of those qualities alone. If such a policy were to lead to the filling up of our medical schools entirely with Jews (which I am sure it would not), then that would seem to me to suggest that possibly we have something to learn from this people.

It is, I believe, high time that the machinery be set in motion to compel our medical schools, and other institutions of learning, to cease discrimination against the members of minority groups, and to judge persons not as members of a group, but as they should always be judged: as individuals in their own right.

It is a sad commentary upon the state of our society that were I to publish this letter under my own name it is not unlikely that the consequences to me would be serious—and what is worse, that I could look for no redress, hence, reluctantly, I must subscribe myself,

New York City ACADEMICUS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Corporal Edward L. Bailey and Sergeant Rogers Albritton, both in the Pacific, send letters protesting a WMC directive to business and government asking that young officer veterans be given special assistance toward executive positions. Sergeant Albritton says, "An officer is an autocrat. Most American officers, to be sure, are more or less benevolent autocrats, and a few even resent the false position in which they are placed by the military system, but there they all are and they make the best of it, knowing that when the military interim is over they are in for a let-down. Reëntering a democracy will not be difficult for some of them, but for others it will be a depressing experience. It is scarcely the function of the WMC or anyone else to soothe these others with plush jobs in which the habits of autocracy can be comfortably at home." Corporal Bailey asks consideration for "the far greater number of enlisted men and women who have accepted their lesser lot while fighting the concept of a Super Race. They do not begrudge their military officers an equal chance in competing for worthwhile civilian positions. As American citizens, they in turn do not expect to be denied that chance."

Dwight Macdonald of New York writes us that the EAM "stalling" at the Lebanon Conference in May, 1944 (referred to in "Counter-Revolution in Greece," the *New Republic*, July 30), was due to the change in the Communist Party line from coöperation to the new intransigence, and the need arising therefrom to prepare the EAM rank and file for the switch.

A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation suggests the internationalization of the atomic bomb and cessation of its manufacture by individual nations, and the initiation by the United States of a disarmament and anti-conscription program as a means of ending wars.

Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC asks for contributions to aid the work of the FEPC. The address is Room 901, 930 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

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Books in Review

The Alger Story

I NEVER read Alger when I was a boy, since I preferred his English rival, G. A. Henty; but lately I read the four Alger novels that have been reprinted in one volume —*Struggling Upward and Other Works*.[1] They set me reading others and looking into the life of a very minor writer who had a major influence on American ideals.

There wasn't much I could find. The one biography of Alger, by Herbert R. Mayes, is full of errors at the few points where it can be compared with dependable information from other sources. For example, Mayes says that *Ragged Dick* was Alger's first juvenile, and the statement is repeated in a publisher's note at the end of the present volume. But all three stories for boys in Alger's Campaign Series had appeared before *Ragged Dick* was published in 1868; and so too had *Helen Ford*, a novel for older girls. Mayes says that much of his own account was based on Alger's private diary, a black, clothbound volume; but in view of his other errors you can't help wondering whether he copied it correctly or whether it ever existed—for the diary has vanished since Mayes used it, and nobody else remembers having seen it. Nobody knows how many books Alger really wrote. Mayes gives a list of 119; the publishers of *Struggling Upward* give a list of 135. But Alger himself presumably had a chance to correct the entry that follows his name in the only volume of *Who's Who in America* that was published during his lifetime; and part of the entry reads as follows:

Author: Ragged Dick series, Tattered Tom series, Luck and Pluck series, Atlantic and Pacific series, etc., in all about 70 books, mostly juveniles, of which nearly 800,000 have been sold.

Alger died in 1899, later in the same year that the entry appeared, but dozens of books attributed to him were published afterwards; they were still being copyrighted in 1904. The explanation seems to be that a publisher bought the right to use Alger's name, and signed it to other juveniles that were actually the work of men he employed on a weekly salary. One of these men was Edward Stratemeyer, who, under the pseudonym of Arthur M. Winfield, also wrote thirty volumes about the Rover Boys. Nobody knows which of the later books are Stratemeyer's and which are Alger's. Nobody knows how many copies were printed of the Alger books as a whole. "More than 100,000,000 copies sold!" screams the jacket of the present edition. "They sold close to 200,000,000 copies, I am told," says Russel Crouse in his introduction. There is no truth in these fantastic figures. Alger's books and those attributed to him were intensively "merchandized" after his death; they were priced at 10, 15 and 35 cents a copy, and their total sale may have reached to 15 or 20 millions, at a generous estimate. That was of course an enormous circulation for the time, or any other time; and it was enough to influence at least two generations of American boys.

The only real information we have about Alger is in the books themselves, and it isn't a painful task to read them, even today. Although boys of the present generation don't ask for Alger books, they like them well enough if they happen to come across a stray copy. The style is formal to the point of burlesque, but correct and absolutely clear. The chapters are short and consist chiefly of dialogue, which is sometimes so innocent that it acquires a double meaning ("I want to show you some engravings," says the rich Miss Davenport to the hero of *Tom Temple's Career*). Still, Alger's dialogue moves rapidly and is not without conscious humor of a sort that boys enjoy. Here is a fair sample from *Ragged Dick:*

One of the boys, a rather supercilious-looking young gentleman, genteelly dressed, and evidently having a very high opinion of his dress and himself, turned suddenly to Dick, and remarked:

"I've seen you before."

"Oh, have you?" said Dick, whirling around; "then p'r'aps you'd like to see me behind."

At this unexpected answer all the boys burst into a laugh with the exception of the questioner, who evidently considered that Dick had been disrespectful.

"I've seen you somewhere," he said in a surly tone, correcting himself.

"Most likely you have," said Dick. "That's where I generally keep myself."

Partly by inadvertence, Alger's novels often give a realistic picture of American society after the Civil War. In the world to which they introduce us, there is no art whatever, except that sometimes a young girl plays *Hearts and Flowers* on a square piano. There is no learning, beyond the ability to read and cipher and write a flowing hand. There is no history: it is as if New York and the whole country that Alger describes had been built overnight, with the scaffolding still in place. There is no love, except of widowed mothers for their children. The nearest approach to juvenile romance is in the next-to-last chapter of *Sink or Swim*, which tells how Harry Raymond came back from the Australian gold fields with a fortune of $15,525 (Alger always gives an exact figure). Little Maud Lindsay, "a bright, handsome girl of thirteen," was so glad to see him that she flung her arms around him. "Harry was rather embarrassed," Alger says, "at the unexpected warmth of his reception, but felt that it would be impolite not to kiss Maud in return, and accordingly did so." That is the only kiss in the dozen Alger novels I have read, and perhaps in all of them. Although the author was an ordained minister, there is hardly any religious sense in his characters. Some of them go to Sunday school, like Ragged Dick, but that is only because they know a teacher who is a rich merchant and might help them to rise in the world. Here is an example of Alger's moral teaching, from another novel called *Hector's Inheritance:*

"Have you any taste for any kind of liquor?"

"No, sir," answered Hector promptly.

[1] Struggling Upward and Other Works, by Horatio Alger Jr. New York: Crown Publishers. 584 pages. $3.

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"Even if you had, do you think you would have self-control enough to avoid entering saloons and gratifying your tastes?"

"Yes, sir."

"That is well. Do you play pool?"

"No, sir," answered Hector, wondering whither all these questions tended.

"I ask because playing pool in public places paves the way for intemperance, as bars are generally connected with such establishments."

Playing pool leads to drinking, which leads to idleness, which leads to stealing, which sometimes leads to jail, but more often to poverty, the final punishment for Alger's villains and the hell of his neo-New England theology. His heaven is simply making a fortune. Everything in his world has its cash value: a boy who earns $10 a week rightly considers himself twice as good as a boy who earns $5 a week. When the hero of *Tom Temple's Career* loses his inheritance of $40,000, he isn't in the least surprised that his guardian turns him out into the world and his rich friends, the Davenports, ask him never to see them again. "Tom had always understood that they cared for him only because he was rich," the author explains, "and he was neither astonished nor disappointed at the change which had come over them." Elsewhere he exclaims, "How gold reveals the virtues of those about us!" Even a beloved child has its price in gold. When Mr. Rockwell's only son falls overboard from the Brooklyn ferry, in *Ragged Dick*, he cries from the depths of his anguish, "My child! Who will save my child? A thousand—ten thousand dollars to anyone who will save him!" Dick plunges into the East River, thus achieving fame and fortune.

The world of Alger's novels is full of petty thieves and confidence men. Even in the idyllic villages where his heroes spend their early years, the leading citizen is certain to be a villainous oppressor of widows and orphans. Yet these same villages are full of kind doctors and self-sacrificing mothers; and the hero, adrift in New York, is sure to meet a good old merchant who buys him new clothes and adopts him as a son. That was the other side of American society in the Gilded Age; for all its bleakness, it was suffused with optimism and faith in human nature. It was also suffused with a feeling of human equality that is expressed in all the Alger books. Family didn't matter, trade or profession didn't matter, race didn't matter; nothing mattered but money, which was the reward of virtue; the honest newsboy had a better chance to earn it than the banker's lazy son.

In an age when fortunes were being made, even by former newsboys, Alger's novels were praised for their fidelity to American life. Said A. K. Loring, his first publisher, writing in the 1870's: "Alger is the dominating figure of the new era. In his books he has captured the spirit of reborn America. The turmoil of the city streets is in them. You can hear the rattle of pails on the farms. Above all you can hear the cry of triumph of the oppressed over the oppressor. . . . What Alger has done is to portray the soul—the ambitious soul—of the country." All that was true, if only in a sense and for a moment. Alger has no claim to literary merit; but still, reading his early books today, we can't help feeling regret for an age that, with all its bleakness, was somehow innocent and warm-hearted in its eternal pursuit of the dollar. MALCOLM COWLEY

Why Is a War "Book"

History in the Writing, by the foreign correspondents of Time, Life and Fortune. Selected and edited by Gordon Carroll. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 401 pages. $3.
This Is Where I Came In, by Robert J. Casey. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 307 pages. $3.
Battle Below, by Robert J. Casey. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 380 pages. $3.50.
America's Place in the World, by Nathaniel Peffer. New York: The Viking Press. 236 pages. $2.75.
The Big Three, by Daniel J. Dallin. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 292 pages. $2.75.
"E" Company, by Frank O'Rourke. New York: Simon and Schuster. 166 pages. $2.

IN THE ARMY almost any collection of printed pages is called a "book." A comic-strip supplement is a "book"; so is a field manual or *Yank, The Army Weekly*, or the variorum Shakespeare. During the war, despite the paper shortage, this generous military definition of what constitutes a book apparently spread to the publishing houses. Of these six works dealing with the war or with postwar questions, five would have been more at home if confined to newspapers and magazines. At least one—the Dallin volume—could be reduced to a short, malicious editorial, and it would have been kinder to the only novel in the group—Frank O'Rourke's *"E" Company*—if it had been left in manuscript to be shown exclusively to an indulgent committee of friends and neighbors.

The appearance of "books" like these possibly denotes that nothing of more permanent interest is being written and that publishers have to take what they can get. Or it may mean that many publishers feel that in times of stress their productions must be as "timely" and as instantly salable as newspapers and magazines. Whatever the explanation, the phenomenon seems worth noting. It also seems worth noting that book publishers cannot hope to compete with the dailies, the weeklies and the radio. When events are moving at P-80 speed, the "timely" book is likely to be dated and superfluous before it reaches the proofreader.

The publishers of *History in the Writing*, a collection of printed and unprinted war pieces by Luce correspondents, have tried to steer past the rock of "timeliness" by suggesting quite modestly that their volume may serve as a sort of history until a real history comes along. It won't. Beyond much question, historians of the war will consult the pages and files of the Luce publications, but they will probably want to do their own research.

When Luce correspondents stick to straight combat reporting, as they generally do in this volume, they are, next to the *New Yorker's* overseas reporters, about the best in the business. Few men handle combat narrative more ably than Will Lang, Jack Belden and Robert Sherrod. But what they wrote for this "book" was intended for immediate magazine publication, not for history. In "book" form, their work lacks, except in a few passages, any interest as writing and fails to give a correlated account of the war's progress. History is way over there, journalism way over

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THE COMMUNISTS MOVE IN ON ITALY

Gene Rea, who has personally attended Communist policy meetings in Italy, reveals the plans and strategy for a Communist *coup d'etat* in that country. He exposes the leaders, publishes the program, proves the infiltration of Communists in the key government posts, the police, and the army, tells how arms and war materials are being secretly stored, and how the Fascist gangsters of Mussolini are now being mobilized under the red banner. Civil war, similar to that in Spain, is brewing right under the eyes of the Anglo-American occupation forces. If this is the first faint warning of civil war in Italy, it is important enough. But if it indicates a Communist policy throughout Europe, it is a matter of intimate concern to all of us. Read this article for first-hand, on-the-spot reporting of Communist infiltration that is more effective than occupation.

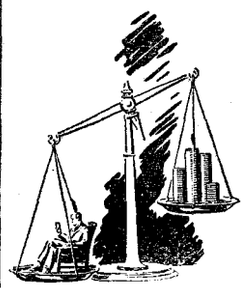
THE SCORE AT SAN FRANCISCO

Despite the widespread discussion of the San Francisco Conference, do you really know what the Charter provides? Have you any clear ideas of its powers and their limitations? John B. Whitton, Associate Professor of International Law at Princeton, has performed a much-needed task in setting down clearly and simply a sane evaluation of the Charter as a whole and of each of its main provisions. This is an article which should be read now — and then filed for permanent reference. It will add tremendously to your understanding of the discussions that are bound to arise in the future whenever the Charter crops up in the news.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY — for September — NOW ON SALE

Have the old men, recalled to their jobs by the manpower shortage, revealed our mistake in preferring the youngsters? Read Ross L. Holman's *Old Age and Industrial Efficiency*.... Did F.D.R. model his ideals and policies on Jefferson? Read his own article, *Is There a Jefferson on the Horizon?* written back in 1925.... Are we turning perfectly normal veterans, tired and nerve-shattered though they may be, into psychiatric cases? Read *Veterans Are Not Problem Children* by T/Sgt. David Dempsey.... What is a Negro singer up against? Arthur Bronson tells us in *Marian Anderson*.... Here's how you can buy an academic degree and a gorgeous diploma without study. Read Adolph E. Meyers exposé, *Diploma Mills*.... Can doctors cure arthritis? Arrest it? Make the patient more comfortable? Read *What Doctors Know About Arthritis* by W. W. Bauer, M. D.... Did you know that a snapping turtle can actually amputate a man's hand in a single bite? Alan Devoe is at his best this month in *Down to Earth*. . . . And the other regular features — *The Library*, the *Check List*, the *Open Forum*, as well as an honest, moving short story, *Line of Duty* — are at their usual high level.

Why authors write for The Mercury



Half in anger, half in jest, an author recently cried, "I'll be darned if I know why I ever write for you. You pay a tenth of what I get for an article in the mass media, and you're ten times as hard to please." He's right on both counts. Authors who write for THE MERCURY are interested primarily in having their ideas accepted. They recognize THE MERCURY'S power among the most influential thinkers in America. They want to reach THE MERCURY'S audience. THE MERCURY selects less than twenty articles each month. It rejects about 800. People who write for the sake of their ideas instead of their purses, are generally worth reading, especially the three per cent who make the grade.

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here. Occasionally they meet, but the meetings are rare and generally fleeting.

Robert J. Casey is one of the great living reporters. His jaunty, well-I'll-be-damned manner is a little old-fashioned beside the more contemporary use of the hard-bitten understatement affected by the Luce men, but it is also somewhat less self-conscious. A brave and hard-working man, he writes—in *This Is Where I Came In*—about what he actually saw in the European theatre and writes not only with a good reporter's skill but with honesty. But the skill and honesty aren't enough to distinguish his "book" from the other correspondents' "books," of which there has been a deluge for so long. Read shortly after the Japs' first quasi-surrender offer, *This Is Where I Came In* was fairly tedious. It's high time to print more penetrating attitudes toward the war.

Battle Below, while containing less first-hand reporting, is the better of Casey's pair. The job done by United States submarines in the Pacific is still partly submerged in secrecy, and Casey's account of Pacific "boilers," written in 1943 and only just now rescued from official censorship, contains much fresh and readable information. A series of newspaper feature stories, however, could have handled the material more appropriately.

Nathaniel Peffer's *America's Place in the World*, though much of it was published earlier in magazines, comes closest of this lot to being a genuine book. For the most part, Peffer's skeptical-hopeful views on our postwar relations have already been stated by other liberals. Here they are stated with unusual authority, with well organized and probing clarity and with singular lack of cant. The chapter called "Democracy in Foreign Affairs" is particularly recommended. If Peffer had written a pamphlet, it would be the sort *New Republic* readers ought to pass around.

David J. Dallin, who appears to be a member of Yale's station complement, is nervous in the service of history and prophecy. Although he deals in part with the same material as Peffer—relations among Britain, the U. S. and Russia—he comes up with conclusions that are as jittery as they would be insignificant if they had less patent appeal to certain types of suburban political thinking. It is Dallin's contention that the British are washed-up, that Americans generally behave like fools, that the Russians—you know those Russians . . .

"The predominance of the Big Three cannot be durable," Dallin says with chilling finality. "A wartime combination, it will end soon after the war. A number of other nations will gradually climb the stairs to the big-power throne, and then new groupings, combinations and coalitions will emerge." Dallin's candidates for stair-climbing are Australia, South Africa, France ("although she will probably never be as great as in past centuries") and—oh, yes—Germany. Dallin reaches these conclusions after tracing recent history along a course on which few have preceded him, the reason being, I suspect, that few have been quite so willing to dispense with the compass of recorded evidence. Certain newspapers from time to time have published editorials not unlike Dallin's "book" in tone and prejudices. The editorials have been easier to take if only because, by flipping a couple of pages, it was possible to get at some dandy comic strips. I think it has been mentioned that the work was published by the Yale University Press.

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The author of *"E" Company* is obviously a well intentioned man and has plainly been through the process he describes, the process whereby a group of ill assorted civilians becomes a company of expert infantrymen. I'm certain, therefore, that ex-Lieutenant O'Rourke did not mean to make his officers unsullied combinations of Dick Rover and Father Christmas or to convey the impression that war acutely resembles a Boy Scout outing. Unfortunately, he simply isn't a writer, and his publishers, now engaged in promoting first novels, have done him a disservice.

If you stop to compare *"E" Company* with William March's *Company K*, which dealt with infantrymen in that other war, you may find yourself feeling a little sick about the current state of war writing. But March worked on *Company K* over a period of years, and his novel did not appear until the early 1930's.

Maybe it takes time to write a book.

SERGEANT HERBERT LYONS

Starlights

A Star Danced, by Gertrude Lawrence. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 238 pages. $2.50.

MR. WOLCOTT GIBBS, provocative, educated, secretly hoping we may prove intelligent, has finished off Miss Gertrude Lawrence's book of memoirs so thoroughly that though the volume in itself may not be worthy of his efforts, or of the *New Yorker*, we must grant him the valor and sweep of his intentions. The picture Miss Lawrence paints up to now, he says, is like a superior moving picture—profuse in love, nicely arranged in a scale of mounting grandeur, and offering altogether very handsome opportunities for an all-star cast, in Technicolor. She swept the script swiftly along—he thinks the signs point to her having written it herself, a remark not necessarily too flattering, I should think.

Nor is Miss Lawrence, our critic notes, an author whose ear is outraged by clichés—the waters of the world are the Seven Seas to her and Timbuctu is her favorite symbol for all that's far away—nor is she one to be daunted by the recurrence of a single word or phrase. (Which means in sum that the book manifests an essential banality so far as the art of writing goes—and we should add, the sense of art in general.) The style she employs, Mr. Gibbs maintains, is that of a young lady writing her parents from an Adirondack camp—a remarkable analysis, if we follow its many directions, the implication of craft, the air of exuberance and the parental innocence. The content, however, is rich and sprinkled with fine persons and places. The early years are chiefly recounted for their obvious intention of establishing her as a character in a moving picture. There is her birth in Clapham, a part of London that is not very shiny, there are the motifs of her father deserting her mother, Granny with her Book of Common Prayer—not very happily clinched as an effective motif, however—and the young Gertie's escape to join her father, known stagewise as Lawrence, hence her name, and from then on her advance toward fame, until she was engaged, married, divorced, and met H.R.H. and the Duke of Kent, and various tall young men.

Finally there is Charlot's Revue and Beatrice Lillie and the coming to America. It was in London, though, that

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she saw a tall young man sweep his hat off when a bulletin announced the death of George V; tears ran down his cheeks; his voice told her he was an American. He was only a colonial, but he wept. She found there, she says, a tremendous interest in America: the British were rediscovering it. And it was about this time that Miss Lawrence found the Duke of Kent in her dressing-room trying on her wig and the Prince of Wales making pretty passes at her maid—Miss Lawrence had arrived. She also met Captain Astley, but he was very well up socially and she was divorced and he did not take the theatre as a great serious matter—when all the while it was where she was rising to stardom. And he had a small income considering his obligations, and so marriage was out of the question. Then in New York there was Bert Taylor—brother of Countess Frasso—but he could not after all, he appears to have decided, be married to anyone who went to bed at theatre hours. Then came Richard; they considered the matter thoroughly and were married.

It seems unfair of Mr. Gibbs and me to take this boshy little volume and trounce it so harshly. I could dilate upon the nonsense on which genuine children of the theatre live, by which they think everybody is watching them, and that they were carried home that time, you know, on the crowd's shoulders—Miss Lawrence recounts such a scene, though it never occurs to her what geese and transient trash or ginned idolaters made up those worshiping mobs, in so far as they acted so and were a mob. It is all a part of the theatre. Miss Lawrence is a performer of great talent, and if rightly directed, an actress of no small skill. She is also, however, a player lacking in discretion and secure taste, though she excels in genuine stage projection and alertness. We must remember that actors speak their own language, which is that of acting, and there is no reason basically why we should expect them to excel in the language of writing. But there is reason to object to Miss Lawrence's keeping up this more or less vague patter about getting on and never touching the art or even the craft of the theatre, the intensity, the drudgery, the reality of it. What I mean to say will be clearer and seem less highty-tighty when I refer to Miss Sophie Tucker's memoirs,[1] published some months back. You may not endorse her standards or hail with enthusiasm the field of her performance and success—that depends on your taste for variety entertainment—but you cannot miss the sturdy groundwork, the humanity, the job, the unceasing battle, the projection. At bottom, whatever its lurid nonsense at times, that book presents an honest voice.

The important thing, and it is very pressing in its importance, to mention about Miss Lawrence's book, if you are going to mention it at all seriously, is that it provides an example of the snobbery that does more than anything else to mush up the English theatre. The class system may have its virtues and its share in England's greatness, but the stage in England rots with it. There the stage feels the eternal gauge of high patronage, of recognition from above, of mingling with the great, always the socially great, not the artistic, the intellectual, the spiritual, the popular. To be taken up, as the phrase goes, is constantly back of the performers' minds, and when they are lucky enough to be taken up, further effort is vaguely, or is definitely, hamstrung. You could not blame any single actor for this shortcoming, in the midst of such a system, but the effect is lamentable as to art and, for an outside observer, nauseous.

Since the Stuarts went out and the Georges came in, British royalty has had more and more to be approved by the people and seem at least to like what the populace likes. One of the results of this is that such tastes and inclinations of the royal family as are published never include any one of them as an intimate of any artist of genuine distinction. All of which may show the place art occupies in the British governmental scheme of values. As for the individual royal taste, no doubt the less said the better. On the other hand it is not quite sporting to pick on them merely because they happen to be royal. But perhaps I may cite the late Sir Edward Lutyens, whose work as the royal architect threw him into frequent contact with George V, and who when asked his opinion of the King, said well, he was the kind of man that if he were a fish you would put him back.

Enough, doubtless, except perhaps to add that as history this book Miss Lawrence has written is like most theatre histories. I am reminded of General Sherman, who when people told him that divers facts in his memoirs were not as they had heard them, replied that the memoirs were his, were they not? And I remember once at dinner at the Europa in Venice there were Ambassador Garrett and Mrs. Garrett, Prince and Princess Castelbarco of the great Milanese family, the director of the Brera Gallery, and Prince Philip, who was, as I remember it, great-grandson of Queen Victoria, great nephew to the Czar and to the Kaiser and son-in-law to the King of Italy. We had been discussing the history of the First World War as future generations might know it, what they would read of it; and Prince Philip said, with much point at the moment, that the question was what is history, who is to decide that? Well, some of us were in a

[1] Some of These Days, by Sophie Tucker. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 309 pages. $2.50.

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gondola afterward and Johnnie Garrett and Alice Garrett and Philip continued the discussion of history, and Phil said again that the question was who is to decide what is history?

All of which is exactly true, except that I did not call the Ambassador Johnnie and the Prince of Hesse, Phil, and if I had done so I would not mention the fact in a general article like this, I just put that in to give an idea of the stylistic habit of British raconteurs of the socio-artistic school of Miss Lawrence and Mr. Noel Coward.

STARK YOUNG

Rilke's Early Letters

Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1892-1910. Translated by Jane Bannard Greene and M. D. Herter Norton. New York: W. W. Norton. 399 pages. $3.50.

THESE two hundred-odd letters give perhaps the best picture of the younger Rilke that is now available in English. They cover eighteen years of painful development, from adolescence through the productive period which brought the completion of the *New Poems* and *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*. The translators have done an admirable job of preserving the spirit and style of the originals, and the notes are concise and informative.

Many of the motifs of Rilke's earlier works stand out clearly in the letters: Russia, the cult of solitude and poverty, the incessant praise of work and of the difficult and heavy task. Repeatedly, Rilke writes of the necessity of "gazing," that concentrated seeing from which came such poems as "The Panther" and "The Carrousel." We hear much of Rodin and later of Cézanne. (A translation of Rilke's brilliant essay on Rodin was reissued this summer.[1])

Rilke himself appears as a person driven by neurosis and obsessions, afraid of his mother, terrified of great cities, complaining again and again of his surroundings. He struggled desperately for the inner privacy which would allow him to write and to mature: even love meant to him the right to stand guard over the solitude of another. He could write with understanding and sympathy, if with a certain remoteness, about the problems of his correspondents. Most of the letters naturally deal with himself; in the long analyses of his life and talent a note of self-pity is sometimes heard.

As the editors state, many of these letters have an artistic validity of their own. Rilke had a genius for exact and significant detail, and there are unforgettable passages: the meeting with Rodin, the horrible little story of the student who broke down before his examination, and the descriptions of Prague and the fountains of Rome. The metaphysical disquisitions, on the other hand, are often precious rather than profound. And along with much that is beautiful, there is a good deal of sentimentality. Rilke could write such things as :

> though there are only three little squirrels, in whose eyes you have no room, still somewhere in them it is so big that you can be in their lives. . . .

And:

> The hyacinths in my little bed, which have long been hesitating, are flinging open their blossom eyes. . . .

I do not imply that such passages are frequent, but they reveal something in the poet which his uncritical disciples ignore. This collection, one hopes, will lead to sympathetic understanding of Rilke rather than to spreading the semi-mystical cult which has grown up around his name. It shows us Rilke in the round, with his weaknesses as well as his great strength. That strength is best defined by the poet himself in a letter to Elisabeth and Karl von der Heydt:

> perhaps my whole life joy and life task really lie in this: that . . . I am one of those who hear the beautiful and recognize its voice. . . .

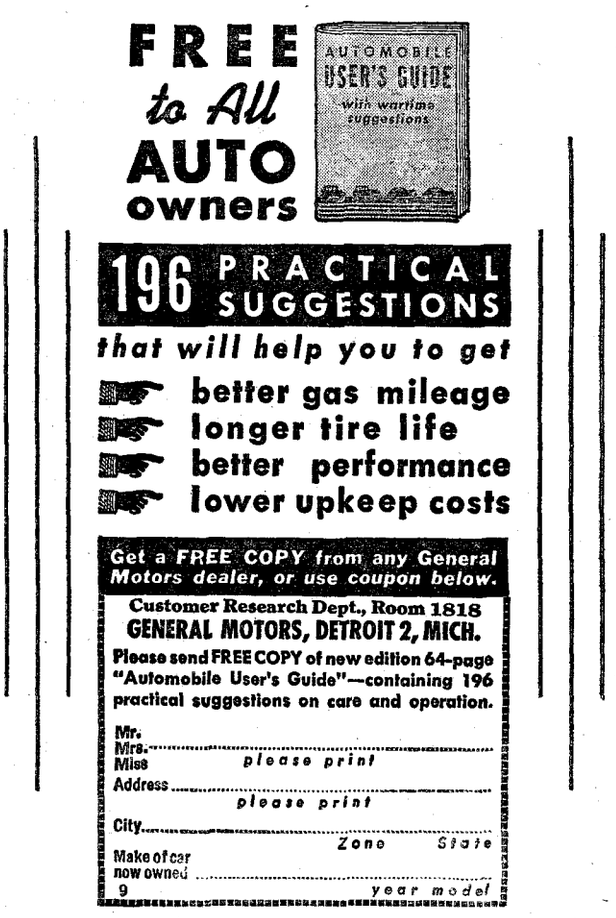
Rilke was, in other words, a lyric poet—perhaps the greatest German lyric poet since Hölderlin. He was not a saint, a great philosopher or a prophet.

H. C. HATFIELD

[1] Rodin, by Rainer Maria Rilke. Translated by Jessie Lemont and Hans Trausil. New York: The Fine Editions Press. 96 pages. $3.50.

A Reader's List

PERSIAN GULF COMMAND, by Joel Sayre (Random House, $2). Completely ignoring foxholes and the Infantry, Joel Sayre has written very nearly the liveliest—and certainly the most adult—war correspondent's book to appear so far. His account of the labors of the PGC, the command set up in Iran to run United States supplies to the Soviet Union, is perhaps too jovial and high-spirited to indicate the full measure of boredom and misery the rear-echelon troops in that "land of romance" endured, but men for-



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merly stationed in the Persian Gulf area say that on the whole Sayre is as accurate as he is readable. The chances seem good that this tribute to one of the most extraordinary supply jobs ever done by any army will be remembered long after most combat yarns have been forgotten. Sayre's publishers, however, should be court-martialed for failure to accompany the text with a single map. The illustrations they have provided—some dull sketches by a *Life* artist—help not at all to show where the holy city of Qum lies in relation to the port of Bandar Shahpur.

TIME BOMB, by E. A. Piller (Arco, $2). Conscientious liberals who keep up with Friends of Democracy releases will not find too much new material in this factual exposé of American fascists and their organizations, but the material is all here, logically and completely. A sort of *Undercover* without cops and robbers, it does a good job of naming names and documenting the application of the term "fascist." It also points out links in the nationalist network between such "respectable" organizations as Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government and "respectable" members of Congress and highly unrespectable thug outfits and front organizations. The author's aim is practical, rather than sensational; he hopes to create awareness of fascist and proto-fascist groups and to encourage action against them. To this end there are chapters called "People on Our Side," "What You Can Do," and an appendix listing organizations throughout the country which work for progressive causes.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EARNING A LIVNING, by John F. Wharton (Simon and Schuster, $2.50). Mr. Wharton's book is not a catalogue of postwar occupations; it is rather a skillful popularization of some basic economic problems. With an imaginary pencil company as the medium, he tells how an enterprising young man might build a large business organization. Mr. Wharton is thus able to emphasize the importance of marketing and advertising, incorporation, working capital, investment techniques, money and capital and monopoly control. If the author intended his message of promise for the coming generation, he has neglected to mention that 85 percent of that generation is destined to be employed by others. And while he does pay lip-service to the traditional American anti-monopoly outlook, he fails to say how large aggregations of capital might be controlled. This somehow does not square with the overt admission that the search for power is the dominating element in human existence. Mr. Wharton's book has the virtues of simplicity and readability, but his arguments are largely vitiated by an unqualified inspirational tone. Moralizing now in the face of approaching economic disorder is hardly the realistic thing to do.

Contributors

THOMAS F. REYNOLDS has been White House correspondent for the Chicago *Sun* since that paper was founded. Before that he was for some years White House correspondent for the United Press. In 1943 he worked with former Governor Herbert Lehman in the State Department on establishing the Office of Foreign Relief.

BEN B. SELIGMAN, formerly a commodity analyst for the OPA, is a contributing editor to *Labor and the Nation*, a new magazine. He has also contributed articles and reviews to *Tomorrow* and the *Contemporary Jewish Record*.

CAPTAIN JOHN MANIFOLD, an Australian, made his first American appearance in Oscar Williams' "Anthology of Poems from the Forces" in the *New Republic* of June 26, 1944. John Day has just announced his *Selected Poems* for spring publication.

STAFF SERGEANT HERBERT LYONS is a former managing editor of the *New Republic*. He has been in the army since 1942 and is now on the staff of *Yank, the Army Weekly*.

H. C. HATFIELD, assistant professor of German at Williams College, has recently returned from London, where he worked for more than a year in the German section of the American Broadcasting Station in Europe.

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